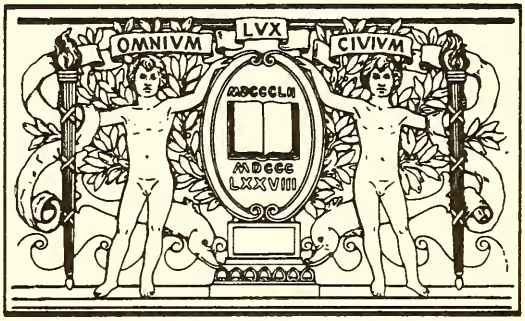
Books on Egypt and Chaldaea



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD., beg to announce that they have still in stock a limited number of the larger edition of the hieroglyphic text and translation of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, with the hieroglyphic vocabulary by DR. WALLIS BUDGE, which appeared in three volumes under the title "CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY," late in 1897.

Price for the Entire Work, £2 10*s*.

VOLUME I. contains all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, printed in hieroglyphic type (pp. 1—517), and a description of the papyri in the British Museum from which they have been edited, and a list of Chapters, etc. (pp. i.—xl.). This edition is the most complete which has hitherto been published.

VOLUME II. contains a full vocabulary (pp. 1—386) to all the hieroglyphic texts of the Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead and to the supplementary Chapters from the Saïte Recension which are given therewith in Volume I. The volume contains about 35,000 references.

VOLUME III. contains:—

Preface and list of Chapters (i.-xxxvi.).

1. INTRODUCTION (pp. xxxvii.-cciv.):—

Chap. I.—The History of the Book of the Dead. This Chapter is accompanied by eighteen plates which illustrate the palæography of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead from the Vth Dynasty to the Roman Period.

Chap. II.—Osiris and the Resurrection.
„ III.—The Judgment of the Dead.
„ IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts from the Pyramid Texts.
„ V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.
„ VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.
„ VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about B.C. 1000 (English translation).
„ VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).
„ IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-ȧbt (English translation).

2. English Translation of the Book of the Dead (pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the famous Papyrus of Ani representing the Judgment Scene, the Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs, the eminent photo-lithographer.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30

Vol. I.

EGYPT IN THE NEOLITHIC AND ARCHAIC PERIODS

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Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

EGYPT

IN THE

NEOLITHIC AND ARCHAIC PERIODS

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ILLUSTRATED

NEW YORK
HENRY FROWDE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMERICAN BRANCH
1902

I DEDICATE THIS WORK

BY PERMISSION

TO

GENERAL LORD KITCHENER OF KHARTÛM,

G.C.B., K.C.M.G., ETC.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA,

AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR MUCH

FRIENDLY AND EFFECTIVE HELP

DURING MY MISSIONS TO THE SÛDÂN,

AND AS A MARK OF ADMIRATION FOR

A STRENUOUS, JUST, AND FEARLESS SOLDIER.

PREFACE

THE present volume is the first of a group of volumes dealing with the history of Egypt, which will be published at frequent intervals in the series of "Books on Egypt and Chaldaea." The narrative begins with an account of Egypt and her people in the latter part of the Neolithic Period, and ends with the description of her conquest by the Romans under Cæsar Octavianus, B.C. 30. The history of Egypt as an independent country properly ends with the death of Cleopatra, for this great queen was the last of the independent monarchs who succeeded to the throne of the Pharaohs.

Each volume describes a certain period of Egyptian history, and is divided into chapters, each of which treats of a dynasty, or a group of dynasties, or contains a summary of the principal characteristics which distinguish the period with which the volume is concerned. The reign of each king is described in a number of paragraphs, wherein will be found not only an enumeration of the bare facts of history, but also extracts from papyri and stelae and other Egyptian documents, which

serve to illustrate the condition of the country, both civil and military, during the period of his rule. Besides such extracts there have been added a number of passages from the works of Herodotus, Diodorus, and other classical writers, which supplement the bald statements of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and supply interesting and often important information about Egypt and the Egyptians, not only whilst they were ruled by their native Pharaohs, but also whilst the country was under the domination of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and other conquerors.

The names and titles of each king, whether as the representative of Horus and Set, or as the son of Rā, or as the Horus of Gold, or as the lord of the shrines of the goddesses Nekhebet and Uatchet, are given in the hieroglyphic characters at the head of the section which treats of his reign, and the names of the kings given throughout the volumes of this work form the fullest King List which has hitherto been published.

The main facts given in this History of Egypt are derived from ancient Egyptian monuments and papyri, and the reader who wishes to study at first hand the original documents will find scattered throughout the volumes numerous references to published works in English, French, and German, wherein he will find the Egyptian texts, often with translations and elaborate introductions.

The volumes are illustrated by a series of reproductions made from (1) a large number of predynastic

and dynastic antiquities preserved in the British Museum; (2) from photographs of Egyptian temples and pyramids, and other monuments, and of Nile scenery; and (3) from outline drawings and tracings made chiefly from published works. The photographs copied herein were made by Signor A. Beato, the distinguished photographer of Luxor, Egypt, who has kindly permitted me to make use of his work in this manner, and the drawings and tracings reproduced in the following pages were made by Mr. F. Anderson.

The greater part of the present volume is occupied with a narrative of the excavations which have been made during the last ten years on predynastic sites in Egypt by Messrs. J. de Morgan, Petrie, Amélineau, and others, and with an account of the various sources from which we derive our knowledge of the chronology of Egypt. It was necessary to discuss the results of recent excavations at some length, especially the correct deductions which M. J. de Morgan was the first to draw[1] from them with the help of Professor Wiedemann of Bonn, and of M. Jéquier, because they have a most important bearing on the views which must now be taken concerning the course of early Egyptian history and the antiquity of Egyptian civilization. It has long been held by archaeologists that the period of

[1] Professor Petrie has now rejected the name of "New Race," and admits that the people whom he thus described were predynastic Egyptians. See Sir John Evans, *Presidential Address*, London, 1901, p. 8; and Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, London, 1901, p. 28.

three or four thousand years which many were content to allow for the rise, growth, development, maturity, and decadence of ancient Egyptian civilization was insufficient, and that the beautiful bas-reliefs and paintings, and the gigantic Pyramids, which were the works of the Egyptians in the IVth Dynasty, could never have been produced by men who a few hundred years before were quite savage or very nearly so. The correctness of these views has now been proved, and it is known that Menà, or Menes, was not the first king in Egypt, and that the phase of civilization which is revealed to us by the works of the dynastic Egyptians did not spring up ready made, as it were, during the reign of that king. It is also certain that numbers of independent kings must have ruled both in the Delta and in Upper Egypt long before Menà, though it is quite possible that he is the first historical king who succeeded in making himself lord both of the South and of the North. The names of some of these early kings of the North are preserved on the Stele of Palermo, and Professor Petrie has found at Abydos both tombs and certain funereal objects of the kings of the South, e.g., RE and KA; thus it is evident that before dynastic times the Egyptians were acquainted with the art of writing, the earliest example of an Egyptian hieroglyphic which we possess being probably the sign for "king of the South," , which we find cut in relief on a slate object of the predynastic period from Al-'Amrah (Brit. Mus., No. 35,501). Now the

civilization of these predynastic kings of the North and kings of the South differed in many respects from that of the dynastic Egyptians, but this is not to be wondered at, for the predynastic Egyptians themselves differed from the dynastic Egyptians in several particulars, although some writers think otherwise. The latter part of the predynastic period and the age of the first three dynasties may be conveniently grouped together as a period which can be called "Archaic," during which period Egyptian civilization developed rapidly. The earlier predynastic Egyptians sprang from one of the indigenous non-Negroid races of north-east Africa, whilst the Egyptians of history were a people whose parents on the one side were originally of African, and on the other side of Asiatic origin. The descendants of the indigenous folk were conquered by the immigrants, who seem to have been bigger and heavier than they, and to have been better armed, their weapons being, perhaps, of metal, and the new-comers appear to have taught the men they vanquished the arts and crafts of which, up to that time, they were ignorant, and to have adopted themselves a number of indigenous African customs. The civilization of the dynastic Egyptians contained, then, an African as well as an Asiatic element, and the influence of the beliefs and ideas of the predynastic Egyptians, which made itself felt chiefly in the religious character of its development, was never eradicated from it. The immigration of the conquering people from Asia must

have taken place between the earlier and later predynastic periods.

But although we see that the civilization of the dynastic Egyptians rested upon a phase of civilization which had existed in predynastic times when men could write, and that that phase rested in its turn upon a phase of civilization which existed when men could not write, the recent excavations which have given us this knowledge do not help us to assign dates to either one or the other of the phases of the predynastic civilization of Egypt. The impossibility of estimating in years the lengths of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Periods in Egypt is so obvious as scarcely to need mention; that these Periods existed in Egypt may be taken for granted, when we remember that the evidence for their existence was accepted by the late General Pitt Rivers, and is admitted by Sir John Evans, K.C.B., M. J. de Morgan, and other eminent experts.

The impossibility of assigning a date to the beginnings of Egyptian civilization naturally calls attention to the fact that it is equally impossible to assign an exact date to the reign of Menâ, i.e., to the first historic king of Upper and Lower Egypt, whatever his name may have been, or to formulate an approximately exact system of chronology from the materials now available. In a chapter of the present volume an attempt has been made to describe the sources in Egyptian and Greek which may be used for this purpose; and it will be seen by a perusal of the evidence that no exact

conclusions can be deduced from them. The three King Lists of Ṣaḳḳâra, Abydos, and Karnak prove chiefly that Lists of this kind cannot be regarded as complete, that they only contain selections of royal names, which in one case are arranged in a purely arbitrary order, whilst the inscriptions derived from the recent excavations at Abydos prove that, in the XIXth Dynasty, the scribe who compiled the King List for Seti I. actually misread the names of several of the kings of the Ist and IInd Dynasties! He may, of course, have been careless in reading the hieratic characters which were written on the papyrus document before him; but it is unlikely, for the Greek forms of these names, which are given by Manetho in his King List, indicate that the readings of the names, as found in the documents from which he compiled his work on Egypt, were similar to those given in the papyrus from which the scribe of Seti I. drafted the List for the mason. It must, of course, not be forgotten that Manetho's List may have been compiled from the monumental lists made at the time of the XIXth Dynasty; hence these mistakes have been perpetuated in Manetho. Thus we cannot rely absolutely upon such lists even for the correct spelling of royal names in the Archaic Period. The Royal Papyrus at Turin would have been of the greatest value to us, but alas, the fragments into which it was broken on its ill-fated journey, were "joined" by Seyffarth, and the document has been useless ever since. The best general authority

on dynastic Egyptian chronology is, after all, Manetho's King List, even though his copyists have played havoc with his figures, and one or two of his dynasties seem to have got out of place. His List must be studied with the Old Lists, and checked by the actual monuments. The hieroglyphic inscriptions prove that the order of the kings in many of his dynasties is correct, and that the lengths of many kings' reigns are stated by him with considerable accuracy, and it seems that he, at any rate, copied his archetypes with care; since the scribe of Seti I. blundered so seriously, as we have seen above, we cannot expect Manetho, who lived about one thousand years later, to be better informed. As far as it goes, Manetho's King List is extremely valuable, but it does not enable us to get behind the mistakes made by the scribe of the XIXth Dynasty, as the excavations at Abydos have enabled us to do. The information which has been obtained from native Egyptian monuments as to dates is, at present, insufficient to enable us to correct the mistakes in the figures of Manetho's List which are due to the carelessness or ignorance of copyists, and until some other means of doing this is found, it is idle to shuffle and torture his figures, as many writers on Egyptian chronology are pleased to do. The order of the succession of the kings is, generally speaking, tolerably certain; in the periods of Dynasties IV.—VI., XII.—XIII., XVIII.—XXII., XXVI.—XXX., complete certainty has been attained, though the exact lengths of

the reigns is often doubtful. The truth of the matter is that we shall never be able to construct an exact system of *chronology* until we have a complete series of inscribed monuments of the kings of Egypt, which either record the lengths of their reigns or are dated in the highest years of their reigns, or until a List be discovered which will give the names of the kings, in the order which the Egyptians believed to be the correct one, and the lengths of their reigns. Future excavations may bring to light such a List, but it is useless to hope for the discovery of a complete series of monuments or documents which will give us the highest regnal years of all the kings of Egypt, and thus we have to fall back upon such material as we have, and to be content with broad generalizations as to the duration of certain periods of Egyptian history. But in a modern work on the history of Egypt it is necessary to have some system of chronology, otherwise the general reader will be hopelessly bewildered, and think that the subject is nothing but a confused mass of facts about wars and conquests which may be shuffled into any chronological order, and that any one arrangement of them is as good as any other. Many systems of Egyptian chronology have been invented by Egyptologists and others, but only a few of them have been constructed with a due regard to the facts and probabilities of the history of Egypt. The systems of Archbishop Usher and Sir Gardner Wilkinson must be entirely set aside, for the former scholar made his

figures fit his preconceived views and theories about Bible history, and the latter never realized the great antiquity of the civilization of the wonderful country in which he lovingly toiled for so many years, and in which he did such a great work. The systems of Champollion-Figeac and Mariette showed that each of these able workers was on the right track, but viewed in the light of recent research the date assigned to Menes by them appears to be too remote. Of all the systems hitherto propounded, that of the late Dr. H. Brugsch has most to recommend it for *practical purposes*, and it agrees exceedingly well on the whole with the evidence, derived from various sources and considerations, which indicates that the duration of the dynastic period, beginning with Menà and ending with the close of the Ptolemaïc Period, was about 4500 years. Dr. Brugsch had an unrivalled knowledge of hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic texts, and there is no branch of Egyptological literature in which he was not a first-rate expert. His chronological system, like that of Herodotus, allows three generations to a century, and contains one great gap of 500 years between the XIIth and the XVIIth Dynasties; but although the average of three generations per century is too low, and the years given to the gap in the history are too many, the 4400 or 4455 years, which he considered to be the length of the dynastic period as a whole, do not seem excessive. The dates which he assigned to kings individually were never intended

to be more than approximately correct, and in the earlier dynasties many of the kings may be antedated or postdated by as much as thirty years. Synchronisms with Babylonian history have shown that in the XVIIIth Dynasty the date given by Brugsch to Thothmes III. is more than fifty years too early, and it is of course possible that other dates may be equally incorrect, but it is unlikely; in any case, working backwards from the XXVIth Dynasty to the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the error in the date of any king can hardly be greater than this. Before the XVIIIth Dynasty the error may be, and probably is, much greater, because there is reason to believe that several kings, whose names find no place in Manetho's King List, reigned over Egypt during the period before the XVIIth Dynasty. These facts must of course be remembered in using Brugsch's system of chronology. No *exact* dates can be assigned to Egyptian kings before the XXVIth Dynasty, and any system which attempts to date the reigns of the kings of the earlier dynasties otherwise than after the manner employed by Brugsch is both misleading and incorrect. We do not possess chronological data sufficient for the purpose, and no amount of shuffling of figures, or guesses, or emendations, can be regarded as satisfactory equivalents of facts. Still less can any trustworthy estimate in years be made for the duration of the predynastic period of Egyptian history, even if we deny the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in Egypt; nor can

any calculations concerning it which are based upon the rate of the deposit of mud in the Nile Valley be regarded as final, because the conditions under which it was laid down in all parts of the Valley are unknown. The actual facts of the case must be admitted, and though these indicate that the period of the predynastic and dynastic civilizations covers many thousands of years, they do not show how long that period was.

E. A. Wallis Budge.

London:
December 13*th*, 1901.

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EGYPT

IN THE

PREDYNASTIC AND ARCHAIC PERIODS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PREDYNASTIC EGYPTIANS.

Until within the last few years the writer who set out to gather together the facts concerning the various great periods of Egyptian history, with the view of placing before his readers a connected sketch of the most important events which took place in the Valley of the Nile between the Fourth Cataract and the Mediterranean Sea, was compelled to state unhesitatingly that Egyptological science possessed no exact knowledge concerning the origin of the people who have been universally called "Egyptians." It was generally assumed that they were not indigenous, but hardly any two Egyptologists agreed as to the site of their original home, and whilst one authority declared unhesitatingly that the Egyptians came from Central or North-Eastern Asia, another placed their probable home in some country far to the south of that

portion of the Nile Valley which is commonly called "Egypt," and another maintained that some tract of land lying to the west of the Nile in Northern Africa must be regarded as their true home. Each authority produced proofs in support of his assertion, and each group of proofs was regarded as satisfactory evidence by those who accepted the *theory* which they were intended to support.

The various theories put forward by competent men were based upon:—(1) The scientific examination of the mummified remains of the historical Egyptians; (2) historical and geographical information derived from the hieroglyphic inscriptions; (3) the philological peculiarities of the language as exhibited by the hieroglyphic texts; and (4) statements made by ancient chronographers and historians.

The evidence derived from the statements referred to under No. 4 was, of course, only of scientific value when supported by evidence derived from any or all of the classes of information summarized in Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The researches which have been made since the times when the main theories about the original home of the Egyptians were propounded show that in each of them many of the details were correct, and that their authors would have arrived at right conclusions had their deductions been based upon a larger number of facts, and upon a wider field of examination and information. Unfortunately, however, the field available for examination was limited, and all the

necessary facts were not forthcoming, and the pity is that the early writers on Egyptology assumed that they had solved a number of far-reaching problems in Egyptology when it was evident to all unbiased observers and honest enquirers that they still lacked the information which could only be obtained from data that were then non-available. Speaking broadly, the propounders of theories were hampered by their own preconceived views, and also by ideas derived from the works of Scriptural and classical writers; and their difficulties were increased greatly by their own efforts to make the evidence derived from the ancient Egyptian native writings "square" with that which they obtained from foreign sources.

Side by side with the question of the site of the original home of the Egyptians it was necessary to discuss the cognate subjects of early Egyptian chronology and the language of the primitive Egyptians, and the views and opinions put forward by writers on these matters were as conflicting as those which existed on the original home. Some held that the language of the early Egyptians was of Aryan origin, others declared it to be closely allied to the Semitic dialects, especially to those belonging to the northern group, i.e., Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee, and others claimed for it a Berber, or Ethiopian, or Libyan, or Central African origin, according to individual fancy or observation.

On early Egyptian chronology opinion was hopelessly

divided, the principal reason being that many investigators attempted to confine the whole period of Egyptian dynastic history within the limits assigned to Old Testament history by the impossible system of Archbishop Usher.[1] Those who did this lost sight of the fact that they were not allowing sufficient time for the rise and growth and development of Egyptian civilization, and they wrote as if they thought that the wonderfully advanced state at which the religion, and art, and sculpture, and architecture, and education, and government of ancient Egypt had arrived at the beginning of the IVth Dynasty had been reached after the lapse of a few centuries. No system of chronology which may at present be devised can be accurate in the modern acceptation of the term, and none can ever, with truth, pretend to be approximately so, except in respect of isolated periods of time of relatively limited duration. But the system which will have the best chance of survival, and at the same time be the most correct, seems, judging by the evidence before us, to be

[1] James Usher was born in Dublin on January 4th, 1580, and died on March 20th, 1656, at Reigate in Surrey. He was a contemporary of Camden, Selden, Sir Thomas Bodley, and Sir Thomas Cotton. Between 1650 and 1654 he published *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, in which he propounded an impossible system of chronology for the Bible. This system was, unfortunately, inserted in many editions of the Bible with most disastrous results, for thereby it gained an authority which it should never have enjoyed. The system is worthless, and has proved a stumbling-block to many honest enquirers into Bible history.

that which will take into due consideration the extreme antiquity of civilization of one kind and another in the Valley of the Nile, and which will not be fettered by views based upon the opinions of those who would limit the existence of the civilization of ancient Egypt to a period of about 3000 years.

Until the year 1891 the writer in favour of assuming a high antiquity for ancient Egyptian civilization was obliged to rely for his proofs upon the evidence furnished by the inscriptions, and upon deductions based on information supplied by texts written upon papyri, but, thanks to the labours of the recent excavators who have examined and cleared out a number of the predynastic cemeteries in Egypt, it is now possible to produce objects of various kinds which prove beyond all doubt that Egyptian civilization is older by several thousands of years than many Egyptologists have wished to admit, and that the existence of man in the Valley of the Nile may be traced back even to the Palaeolithic Period in Egypt. But before passing on to the consideration of the predynastic Egyptian it will be well to summarize briefly the principal facts in connection with the important excavations which have produced such remarkable results.

It will be remembered that between the years 1870 and 1890 there appeared from time to time in the hands of dealers in Egyptian antiquities numbers of rude figures of animals made of green slate, with inlaid eyes

formed of bone rings, and little groups of earthenware vases, painted in red, with unusual designs. Specimens of these were purchased by travellers and others, and certain examples were acquired, through the late Rev. Greville Chester, B.A., by the British Museum. Thus a large, flat, green slate figure of a horned animal, with inlaid eyes (No. 35,049), was purchased in June, 1871; a figure of a sheep, in the same material (No. 20,910), in October, 1886; a green slate object, belonging to the class which has been wrongly called "palettes" (No. 21,899), in July, 1887; and a green slate bat, with outstretched wings (No. 21,901), in the same year. Among the painted vases which were acquired in 1881 may be mentioned a little two-handled vase, ornamented with red wavy lines (No. 35,050); and two black and red earthenware vases, and two earthenware pots with most unusual ornamentations, which were presented to the British Museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1885 (Nos. 22,185, 22,186, 22,173, and 22,200). Besides these there remain to be enumerated a small earthenware vase ornamented with series of concentric rings painted in red (No. 26,411), and a number of flints and small green slate objects, which have not as yet been satisfactorily identified. The provenance of many of these objects was well known, viz., Gebelên (a town situated on the left bank of the Nile, about 470 miles south of Cairo, which marks the site of the Crocodilopolis of the Greeks) and the neighbourhood of Abydos. Opinions

differed as to the age of the green slate figures of animals and the earthenware vases; some Egyptologists boldly declared the former to be "clumsy forgeries" and the latter to be the product of the Roman period, and others believed both classes of objects to be the work of a non-Egyptian people, who, for some reason or other, had settled in Egypt during dynastic times.

About the year 1890 it became known that certain natives in Egypt had discovered large quantities of pottery,[1] i.e., vases, jars, bowls, saucers, etc., some being of most unusual shapes, and others being ornamented with unusual designs. The decorations on the pottery consisted chiefly of series of concentric rings, wavy lines, which were probably intended to represent water, and figures of a number of objects which could not then be identified, traced in red paint. Among this pottery were a large number of vessels made of red and black earthenware, the upper parts being black and the lower parts red, and it was generally agreed that these, at least, belonged to no comparatively modern period like the Roman. Subsequent inquiries revealed the fact that pottery of this kind was always found in graves of a certain class, which seem to have been quite unknown to anyone except the native dealers in antiquities in Egypt, and little by little the characteristics of such graves became

[1] Examples of the predynastic pottery which reached the Museum in 1891 are Nos. 26,635–26,638, 26,643, 26,644, 26,651–26,653, 26,657, 26,660, 26,729, all of which came from Abydos.

known generally. The most important variation in the system of sepulture employed by those who made the graves from that in use among the historical Egyptians was in the preparation of the body for burial and its disposal in the tomb. As we shall return to this subject later on, there is no necessity to go into details here, and it will be sufficient to say that the bodies which were found in the graves mentioned above were not mummified, that they were sometimes dismembered, and that when discovered in a perfect state they were always resting on their left sides, with their knees drawn up on a level with their chins, and their hands were raised to their faces almost as if in an attitude of prayer or adoration.

Little by little it became clear that graves containing bodies which had been buried in this fashion were to be found in many parts of Egypt, and that they existed in such large numbers that it was almost impossible for them to be the remains of any small, isolated body of settlers in Egypt, or of an unimportant section of the old population of that country.

Meanwhile the natives in Egypt had excavated with great thoroughness some of the sites where such graves were found in abundance, and many of the older men among them, having learned exactly what class of antiquity was being demanded by European *savants* and archaeologists, remembered that flint knives of fine workmanship, and vases and vessels of earthenware made in various shapes and painted in red with con-

centric circles and wavy lines, had been found near Abydos, and at Naḳâda, and Gebelên, and other places, and they set to work to obtain permission to dig on these sites. Most of the applications for licenses to dig made by natives were refused by the authorities, and comparatively little was done in the matter of excavating these curious graves until the end of 1894, when Professor Petrie decided to make excavations on a large scale on a site which lay along the "edge of the "desert, between Ballas and Naqada. This district is "about thirty miles north of Thebes, and on the western "side of the Nile."[1] In the course of the winter of 1894-95 he "recorded the plans and contents of nearly "three thousand graves and two towns . . . in the four "or five months of work;"[2] a vast quantity of pottery and large numbers of other objects were found in the course of the excavations on this site, and thus much material became available for study. To the facts already known the following details were added:—The graves were often made in the gravel shoals of the stream courses; the typical tombs were vertical pits, and the "pit in all wealthy graves was roofed over with "beams and brushwood; in place of preserving the body "intact and embalming it, the bodies are usually more "or less cut up and destroyed; in place of burying at "full length, with head-rest and mirror, the bodies are "all contracted and accompanied by many jars of ashes."[3]

[1] See Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, London, 1896, p. vii.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. vii.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

"The knees are always sharply bent at 45° to the thighs, "or else nearly parallel; while the thighs are always "at right angles to the body, or even more drawn up so "that the knees touch the elbows. The arms are always "bent, with the hands placed together before the face or "the neck. In a few cases the body is laid on the back "and the knees bent sharply, so that the legs are folded "up together; or else both knees and hips are bent "sharply, so that the legs are folded up on either side of "the body. The direction of interment was as constant "as the attitude . . . the body lay on the left side, "facing the west, with the head to the south and the "feet to the north."[1]

From an examination of the graves which he excavated Professor Petrie concluded that:—1. *The skull was often intentionally removed before burial.* 2. *The skull was separately placed in the grave, perhaps some time subsequent to the burial.* 3. *The lower arms and hands were often removed before burial.* 4. *Sometimes the trunk was partly cut to pieces before burial.* 5. *The whole body was sometimes dismembered completely before burial, and artificially arranged.* 6. *Bodies were sometimes—with all respect—cut up and partly eaten.*

About a year later, that is in the winter of 1895-96, M. Amélineau was sent to Egypt at the instance of M. le Marquis de Biron and his friends M. le Comte Henri de la Bassetière and M. Sigismond Bardac, and

[1] Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 32.

he began to make excavations on a large scale at Abydos, where, notwithstanding the vast clearances which had been made by Mariette, a great deal of work needed to be done. Mariette excavated with thoroughness the temples of Seti I. and Rameses II., but it is quite clear that he never recognized the real antiquity of the site nor even suspected the existence there of antiquities belonging to a period earlier than the VIth Dynasty. As M. Amélineau has described at great length the results of his labours at Abydos,[1] it is only necessary here to say that he discovered a number of graves of the same kind as those which Professor Petrie had excavated at Naḳâda, and in one wherein the body had escaped destruction he saw that it lay on its side in the position which has already been described;[2] he also found large numbers of stone jars and earthenware vessels. The pottery he described as coarse, and the decorations upon the various vases he considered to be quite primitive, and to have been designed by men who were still "trying their brush" and educating themselves in artistic matters.[3]

[1] *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, Angers, 1896.

[2] "Il n'était point momifié, était couché nu sur le côté, les genoux ramenés a la hauteur de la poitrine, les deux bras par devant le visage, dans la posture de l'enfant dans le sein de sa mère." *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[3] "Je dois dire cependant que sur les vases de terre grossière que je trouvai dans quelques sépultures je reconnus des dessins tout à fait primitifs, dessinés par des hommes qui en étaient en corse à essayer leur calame et qui faisaient leur éducation artistique." *Ibid.*, p. 14.

In the winter of 1896-97 M. Amélineau continued his excavations in the neighbourhood of Abydos, and he was rewarded by the discovery of a large and very important tomb, in the chambers of which he found a variety of objects, i.e., fragments of metal, metal tools, flints, pottery, alabaster and marble jars, etc.; he believed this tomb to date from a period anterior to that of the tombs which he had found during the previous winter.[1]

In the month of March, 1897, another worker entered the field, and M. J. de Morgan, Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Égypte, decided to examine for himself some of the cemeteries where graves of the kind which has already been described were to be found. The spot selected by him for excavating was Naḳâda, a locality already well known as a source of supply of the curious pottery, which had by this time become tolerably common; according to M. de Morgan, a portion of the district had already been explored by Professor Petrie two years previously, but the explored portion only included the cemeteries of Tûkh and Ballâṣ, and the region to the south of Tûkh was virgin soil.[2] Two

[1] "Je crois que le monument de cette année appartient à une époque quelque peu antérieure à celle des tombes découvertes pendant la campagne 1895-96." See Amélineau, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos* (Deuxième Campagne, 1896-1897), Paris, 1897, p. 43.

[2] "Deux ans auparavant, M. le Professeur Flinders Petrie avait, avec mon autorisation, exploré une partie de ce district; mais je savais que ses investigations avaient porté sur les nécropoles de Toukh et de Ballas et que, bien qu'ayant intitulé *Naqadah et*

cemeteries were attacked, the one to the south, which belonged to the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt, and the one lying at a distance of a few miles to the north, which contained the tombs of the early Egyptians. Important results attended these excavations, for in a little hill situated to the north of the northern necropolis the remains of a monument built of crude bricks were found, and M. de Morgan was fully convinced that it dated from one of the most ancient periods of Egyptian civilization. The walls and other parts of the building exhibited traces of fire, and M. de Morgan believed that an attempt had been made to destroy the building by fire some time after it had been finished. M. Amélineau had found at Abydos a number of tombs to destroy which by fire an attempt seemed to have been made, and this apparently shocking work he attributed to the Coptic spoilers of tombs, who, at the beginning of their career as Christians, set out wilfully to destroy the monuments of the ancient Egyptians whom they called heathen. His views on this subject were at first shared by M. de Morgan, but subsequently he rejected them, for he found abundant proof that whatever damage had been done to the tombs by fire had been done in very ancient times, and indeed it was soon clear to his satisfaction that such tombs were deliberately set on fire by the friends and relatives of the deceased when they laid

Ballas l'un de ses derniers ouvrages, l'archéologue anglais avait laissé vierges les terrains situés au sud de Toukh." J. de Morgan, *Ethnographie Préhistorique*, Paris, 1897, p. 148.

him in the tomb which had been specially built for him. Large numbers of vases in stone and other materials had been placed in the various chambers of the tomb, but nearly all of them were found to be broken, and M. de Morgan, on examination of the fragments, decided that they were broken and scattered about in the tomb before it was set on fire in remote days at the time of the funeral. The breaking of the vases and vessels was not the work of tomb robbers, for pieces of the same vase were found in different rooms, and it is well known that among many peoples the custom of breaking vessels of pottery, and figures of various kinds, at the time of the funeral is observed; had the breakages been the work of robbers, the various pieces belonging to one jar would have been found together, for they would never have taken the trouble to scatter them.

Of the identification of the builder of the great tomb which M. de Morgan discovered we need not speak here, and as he himself has described it and given a list of the objects which he found therein,[1] we may pass on to note other facts in connection with the excavation of predynastic sites.

In November, 1897, M. Amélineau continued the work of excavation which he had begun in 1895, and

[1] See *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte, Ethnographie Préhistorique et Tombeau Royal de Négadah*, par J. de Morgan, avec la collaboration de MM. le Professeur Wiedemann, G. Jéquier, et le Dr. Fouquet, Paris, 1897.

his labours were crowned by the discovery of the tomb of a king (whom he identified with the god Osiris), to which he gave the name "Tomb of Osiris."[1] In his opinion the tomb dated from the time when Osiris Un-nefer, the god of the Egyptian underworld and of the dead, actually reigned upon earth, and although it resembled in construction and fabric several of the tombs which stood near it, M. Amélineau saw no "antecedent improbability" in its being the veritable sepulchre of the god. The building was in the form of a house built on three sides, north, east, and south, with an inner court, and at the north-west end was a staircase, which M. Amélineau believed to be the staircase referred to in the texts which speak of the "god who is at the top of the staircase," i.e., Osiris. The tomb contained fourteen chambers of various sizes, all of which were without doors, and this fact the discoverer accounted for by declaring that at the time when the tomb was built men had no knowledge either of windows or doors. The greater number of the chambers were empty, but some of those that were built along the sides of the tomb contained large wine jars, and although most of the jars had been broken, a few still possessed their conical mouth covers, which had, however, been burnt as hard as tiles by the fire which had been kindled in the tomb at the time of burial. These jar stoppers were all stamped with one of the names of the personage

[1] A minute description of the tomb will be found in M. Amélineau's *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, Paris, 1899, chap. v. p. 91 ff.

for whom the tomb had been built; this name appeared to be the "Horus name"[1] of some king and was written thus:—



The Horus name of the new king.

On the 2nd of January, 1898, M. Amélineau found in the chamber marked D on his plan, a skull which lacked the lower jaw, and which he believed to be the head of the god Osiris; a little later in the day the so-called "bed of Osiris" was dug out by his men. The "bed of Osiris" is a grey granite monolithic monument hewn in the shape of the lion bier, i.e., a funeral couch supported by legs made in the form of the legs of a lion, with a lion's head at one end and a lion's tail at the other, which is so familiar in Egyptian funeral scenes. On this "bed" is a figure of the god Osiris, who wears the white crown upon his head, and holds the usual symbols of sovereignty and dominion, i.e., a sceptre and a whip, in his hands. At the head of the god and at his feet are the remains of figures of two hawks, which, according to the legend inscribed under each, represent

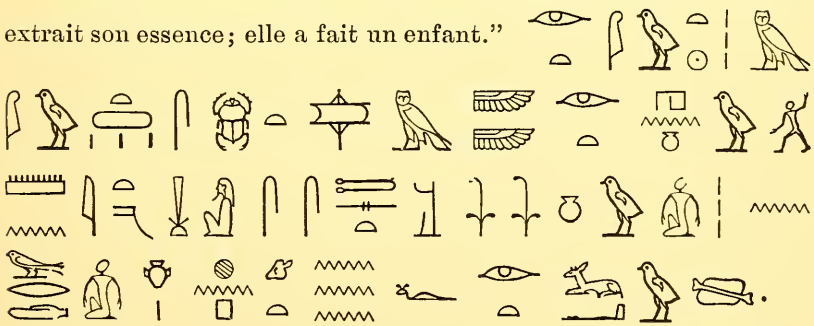
[1] The kings of Egypt possessed several names, viz., one as the representative of Horus, which is commonly known as the "*ka* name" or "banner name," one as the representative of the god Set, one as the lord of the shrines of the vulture and uraeus , one as the Horus of gold , one as king of the South and North, , and one as "son of the Sun" . The last two names are usually written within cartouches. The first king to use a cartouche was Besh.

Horus, the avenger of his father. Above the middle of the body are the remains of another hawk, which, according to the inscription near it, represents the goddess Isis.[1] Close by the right shoulder of Osiris is a line of inscription which reads, "Osiris Un-nefer, victorious," that is to say, Osiris in his character of god of the underworld, and judge of the dead. On the sides of that portion of the monument which represent the framework of the "bed" are inscriptions which, when complete, contained the name of the king who dedicated the monument for worship or veneration in the tomb; but at some period subsequent to its dedication the king's name was very carefully hammered



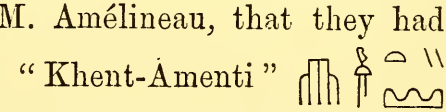
"Horus, the avenger of his father."

[1] The position of Isis refers no doubt to the passage in the Hymn to Osiris quoted by Chabas, *Revue Archéologique*, 1857, p. 65:—"c'est Isis, l'illustre, la vengeresse de son frère; elle l'a cherché sans se reposer; elle a fait le tour de ce monde en se lamentant; elle ne s'est point arrêtée sans l'avoir trouvé; elle a fait de la lumière avec ses plumes; elle a fait du vent avec ses ailes; elle a fait les invocations de l'enterrement de son frère; elle a emporté les principes du Dieu au coeur tranquille; elle a extrait son essence; elle a fait un enfant."



out, and except for the general style and character of the monument there is no evidence available for helping us to assign an exact date to it. M. Amélineau first thought that the prenomen which had been chiselled out was that of Seti I., the second king of the XIXth Dynasty, but later an examination of the broken surface seems to have convinced him that the hieroglyphics which form the prenomen of that king would require more space than the enclosing line of the cartouche contains, and that the monument was made for the king for whom the tomb was built, with which it was contemporaneous.

In April, 1898, M. Amélineau announced officially to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* the discovery of the "Tomb of Osiris." There is no need to follow in detail here the acrimonious dispute which arose between MM. Maspero and Amélineau concerning this announcement, and it is sufficient for our purpose to note that the former took the view that the tomb was not that of Osiris, but only a funeral chapel which had been dedicated to the god, and that Osiris was not a real king, and that Set and Horus had never been men. According to M. Maspero the tomb belonged to the same period as the tombs round about it, which contained the name of no king earlier than the period of the Ist Dynasty, and he regarded it as the product of the beginning of the Ist Dynasty or of the end of the IIIrd Dynasty; for certain reasons which he duly set forth he thought there was greater possibility of its

belonging to the IIIrd or IInd Dynasty than to the Ist Dynasty, and it appeared to him to be a royal sepulchre which was at a later period transformed into a divine tomb. That the "bed of Osiris" was contemporaneous with the tomb he and all other Egyptologists who had examined the monument held to be impossible, for the characteristics of its style proclaim that the period in which it was made was not more remote than that of the XVIIIth Dynasty; the present writer is of opinion that it belongs to a still later period. The evidence on the subject now available seems to show that the "bed of Osiris" is a COPY of an ancient monument and that this copy was deposited in the tomb, excavated by M. Amélineau, at some period between the beginning of the XXth Dynasty and the end of the XXVIth Dynasty, by Egyptians who appear to have believed that they were restoring the funeral bed of the god in a funeral shrine or chapel, which at that time was regarded as the genuine tomb of the god Osiris. This view appears to have originated from the fact that the Egyptians, who had made the original of the copy of the "bed of Osiris," finding in the tomb the remains of the king for whom it was made, and various objects inscribed with his name "KHENT," , jumped to the conclusion, like M. Amélineau, that they had discovered the tomb of "Khent-Amenti"  i.e., the god Osiris in his capacity of "the head of the

Underworld" (Amenti). The mistake once made was perpetuated by succeeding generations of Egyptians, and there is little doubt that the tomb which modern Egyptologists have proved to be the tomb of KHENT, i.e., one of the oldest known kings in Egypt, was believed by large numbers of well-informed Egyptians to be none other than that of Osiris, and that as such pilgrimages were made thereto from all parts of the country. The archaic characteristics of the monument discovered by M. Amélineau, i.e., the forms of the lions' heads, etc., are more readily explained by the hypothesis that it is a COPY of an old original which was made during the rule of the kings of the Early Empire than by any other; it, moreover, gives a hint that the mistake was a very ancient one, and that it probably dates from a period anterior to the VIth Dynasty.

With the discovery of the "bed of Osiris" M. Amélineau's excavations practically came to an end, for although the clearing of sand, etc., went on for some time after January, 1898, no results of importance were obtained, and whether for want of funds or some other reason, the excavations were suspended at Abydos, and then the site was finally abandoned by M. Amélineau and his supporters. Every one who knows how hard M. Amélineau worked, and with what devotion he carried on his investigations, will regret that his exertions were not crowned with greater success. The fact, however, remains that he was the first to discover early dynastic tombs at Abydos, and for this,

if for nothing else, Egyptologists owe him a debt of gratitude.

In the winter of 1899-1900 Professor Petrie applied to the Egyptian Government for permission to make excavations at Abydos, and at length, when the "Mission Amélineau" had abandoned the site, he was allowed to begin work there. His search among the royal tombs, which were said to have been already ransacked and partly cleared by M. Amélineau, was rewarded by the finding of numbers of fragments of inscribed earthenware and stone vases, plaques, stelae, etc., and it is hard to arrive at any other conclusion than that the excavations of his predecessor were carelessly, though diligently, conducted, and that he had not in his employ sufficient overseers to make the diggers do their work systematically. As mention must be made later on of the results obtained by Professor Petrie at Abydos both in 1899-1900 and 1900-1901, it is unnecessary to go into details here, and it will be sufficient to note in passing that the general accuracy of M. de Morgan's views and statements as laid down in his works on *Les Origines de l'Égypte* was fully confirmed.

Among other investigators of the predynastic and early dynastic tombs of Egypt must be mentioned Messrs. Randall-Maciver and Wilkin, who made excavations at Al-'Amrah at the end of the year 1900, in two cemeteries which lie between two wide valleys that "run down from the upper desert a short distance

"north of Al-'Amrah." One cemetery seems to have contained about six or seven hundred graves, which "ranged from the very earliest 'New Race' times "through the entire middle period down to the begin- "ning of the 'Late Prehistoric'"; this cemetery was in the south-west corner of the tract of land between the valleys. The other cemetery contained "burials of almost, if not quite, the earliest type," which continue "down to the Ist or IInd Dynasty." [1]

In 1901 Mr. J. Garstang was fortunate enough to find the tombs of two kings of the IIIrd Dynasty, i.e., Tcheser and Hen-nekht at Bêt Khallâf, بيت خلّاف, near Girgah.

The reader has now before him a tolerably complete statement of the work which has been done in connection with the excavation of predynastic and early dynastic graves in Egypt by Europeans between the years 1894 and 1901. Of the work which has been carried out by natives for the administration of the Gîzeh Museum nothing definite can be said, except that it was considerable. It is greatly to be regretted that so much of the native work has been unsystematic, but there is no doubt that the Egyptian has rescued many very fine objects, made by his remote ancestors, from oblivion or destruction, and there is equally no doubt that the amount and extent of the destruction of ancient remains which he is alleged to have perpetrated in recent years have been greatly exaggerated.

[1] See *Man*, April, 1901, pp. 50, 52.

Notwithstanding all that has been said about "scientific" excavations, the native digger deserves some credit, for with very few exceptions the excavations which have been successful owe their success largely to the information about ancient sites which he has supplied.

Sufficient has been said above to indicate to the reader the class of objects which the remarkable graves already briefly described have yielded, and it now remains to show how the evidence which they afford has been interpreted, and what deductions we are justified in drawing from it.

The first investigator to publish a connected series of conclusions based upon an examination of the antiquities at first hand was Professor Petrie, who, in his *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 59 ff., stated that the classes of things, i.e., flints, pottery, etc., which had been drifting into the hands of collectors and into great national collections for several years before he began to dig at Naḳâda, belonged "to a large population spread over "the whole of Upper Egypt"; and that a complete break existed "between the Egyptian civilization and "that of the New Race." By the words "New Race" he designated the people or "certain invaders of "Egypt" by whom the flints, pottery, stone jars, vases, etc., had been made, and he decided that the New Race "possessed an entirely different culture to that of "the Egyptians, and had no apparent connection with "them." Because burials were found which intruded

into the Egyptian tombs of the Early Empire, and because a burial of the XIIth Dynasty was superposed on burials of the "New Race," and because brick tombs were built during the period of the XIIth Dynasty through the ruins of a town of the "New Race," he concluded that the "New Race" lived in Egypt *after* the period of the IVth Dynasty, and *before* that of the XIIth Dynasty. Because the earthenware tables, bowls, etc., which are found in the later style of the "New Race" tombs appear to be copied from the well-known forms of the Early Empire—the adoption of forms being due to imitation and not to learning from ancient Egyptians, all the copies being made by hand, and not on the wheel like the originals—the "New Race" entered Egypt between the Early and Middle Empires. The period in Egyptian history available for such an intrusion is after the Vth Dynasty and before the rise of the XIth Dynasty, i.e., between B.C. 3322 and B.C. 3000, and "from the total "absence of any known Egyptian objects belonging to "this age in Upper Egypt, it seems not improbable that "the dominion of the invaders covered these three "centuries, and we may approximately date their re-"mains between 3300 and 3000 B.C." Because Egyptian objects are absent, even in the later period of the history of the "New Race," and the use of the potter's wheel is disregarded, the relations of these "invaders" with the Egyptians appear to have been completely hostile, and there was no trade between them, and we

"must accept the expulsion of the Egyptians as having "been practically complete from the Thebaïd." That the "New Race" was a tribe, "and not merely men "employed by Egyptians, is also shown by the pre- "ponderance of women, who have exactly the same "physical characteristics as the men. Everything, "therefore, contradicts the association of the Egyptians "and the New Race; and the absolute exclusion of their "remains, one from the other, in both tombs and towns, "makes it impossible to regard them as dwelling in the "country together. We therefore conclude that the "invaders destroyed or expelled the whole Egyptian "population, and occupied the Thebaïd alone." That the "New Race" were a "sturdy hill people" is proved by the "massive legs and tall stature often found." They were neither fighters nor quarrelsome, "as only "about one in 300 shew [*sic*] bones broken at any "period of life, and not a single skull injured before "death has been observed"; they were great hunters, they were acquainted with the metals gold, silver, and copper, they were right-handed, they could spin and weave, they were masters in the art of working in stone and in the production of vases and vessels of beautiful shape and form; they "had simple marks, "which were probably personal signs, but never com- "bined them to form ideas; they had fixed beliefs about "the future and the needs of the dead, as the order of "the grave furniture is very constant, and the position "of the body almost invariable. They had a great

"burning at their funerals, though the body was never "burnt. But the bodies were often cut up, more or "less, and in some cases certainly treated as if they were "partly eaten." The "New Race" was connected by Professor Petrie with the Libyans because its pottery resembles in shape, and form, and decoration, and material that of the Kabyles, who are the modern representatives of the Libyans, and because the hunting habits of the "New Race" resemble those of the Kabyles, and the tattoo patterns of the "New Race" resemble those of the Libyans in the tomb of Seti I., about B.C. 1370. He thought that the "Egyptians were largely formed from Libyan immi- "grants to begin with; the basis of the race apparently "being a mulatto of Libyan-negro mixture, judging from "the earliest skeletons at Medum." Finally he concluded "that in the New Race we see a branch of the same "Libyan race that founded the Amorite power; that we "have in their remains the example of the civilization of "the southern Mediterranean at the beginning of the "use of metal, about 3200 B.C. And that probably in "the galleys painted on the pottery we see the earliest "pictures of that commerce of the Punic race, which "was so important for some three thousand years later "on that sea. In short, we have revealed a section of "the Mediterranean civilization, preserved and dated "for us by the soil of Egypt."

Certain of the conclusions which were arrived at by Professor Petrie were generally accepted by both

anthropologists and Egyptologists, but these were of the class which were self-evident; of the remainder many were diametrically opposed to those arrived by other investigators at first hand, and many were combated with vigour on all sides. On the one hand M. Amélineau claimed that the objects which he had found at Abydos, and which resembled those found by Professor Petrie at Tûkh, dated from the time of the "divine" kings of Egypt, and on the other, Professor Petrie declared that they were not older than the period which lies between B.C. 3300 and B.C. 3000; and the "bed of Osiris," to which the former excavator attributed such a great antiquity, was thought by M. Maspero to be a work not older at most than the XVIIIth Dynasty.

At this period of doubt and uncertainty great light was thrown upon the predynastic ethnography of Egypt and the origin of Egyptian civilization by M. J. de Morgan, whose training as a scientific geologist and mining engineer qualified him to decide many questions on these subjects which were quite outside the competence of Egyptologists, and whose extensive excavations at Naḳâda enabled him to speak on the subjects under discussion with peculiar authority. In the year 1898[1] he published the second volume of his work *Recherches sur les Origines de*

[1] The year given on the title-page is 1897, but the work did not, as far as I have been able to find out, appear in England until 1898.

l'Égypte, wherein he described the results of his labours in the field of predynastic research, and set forth the conclusions at which he had arrived; these conclusions were very different from those of Professor Petrie, and the evidence now available shows that the eminent geologist was usually correct in his assertions. Professor Petrie's observations led him to think that the numerous population which produced the remarkable series of objects already referred to occupied the whole of Upper Egypt only, but M. de Morgan showed that their remains may be found on a continuous chain of sites which extends from Cairo in the north to Wâdî Ḥalfa in the south, with which also may be reckoned the Oases and the Fayyûm; thus Professor Petrie's "New Race" occupied the whole of the Nile Valley for nearly one thousand miles instead of a comparatively small portion of it in Upper Egypt. From the list of characteristics of the Egyptians and of the "New Race" which Professor Petrie drew up for purposes of comparison, it was clear that the latter were at a lower stage in the scale of civilization than the former, and that the manners, and customs, and industries, and abilities of the two peoples were entirely different, and that their physical characteristics were entirely distinct. Moreover, the objects found in the graves of the "New Race" showed not the slightest trace of Egyptian influence, and the graves contained no objects which had been made by Egyptians; but there existed considerable evidence to show that the historical Egyptians

had borrowed largely from the industries of the "New Race."

The net result of all this proved that the Egyptians and the "New Race" did not live side by side, and that they did not occupy the country at the same time; for had there been communication between them, the more civilized race would have transmitted to the less civilized a great number of its manners and customs, and the results of its industrial arts, and the use of Egyptian objects would have been adopted by the race with inferior civilization. This being so, one of the two peoples must have preceded the other in the country of Egypt, and the first occupant could be none other than Professor Petrie's "New Race," because, in spite of its less advanced degree of civilization, it had borrowed nothing from the more advanced Egyptians. The "New Race" were, then, the *aborigines, or perhaps, more correctly, the inhabitants of Egypt, whom the Egyptians found there when they entered or invaded the country*, and they could be nothing else.

Having thus proved the great antiquity of the "New Race," M. de Morgan went on to show that the period assigned by Professor Petrie for their existence in Egypt was an impossible one, for at the end of the Early Empire Egypt was highly civilized, and its armies had advanced far into Western Asia and the Eastern Sûdân, and its kings were ruling over large tracts of country; how, then, could a semi-barbarous people like those which formed the "New Race,"

who were armed with flint weapons only, invade Egypt, and expel or massacre the whole of the population of the country without leaving any trace of it behind?

The correct chronological position having been assigned by M. de Morgan to the "New Race," it remained to consider whence they came and where their original home was situated. Professor Petrie had come to the definite conclusion (*Naqada*, p. 64) that the New Race were Libyans and also kinsmen of the Amorites of Syria, and that their remains were examples of the southern Mediterranean civilization of about B.C. 3200; but it is only possible to speak of the New Race as being Libyans in the sense that they were the north-east African substratum of the later race of historic Egyptians. Of the Libyans of predynastic times we know nothing, and, as M. de Morgan has shown that the "New Race" were the aborigines of Egypt, or at least the people whom the Egyptians found in Egypt when they entered the country, it is futile to declare a relationship between the "New Race" of, say, B.C. 5000, and the Amorites, for whom the character of pre-Semitic aborigines of Palestine is claimed, so far as we know, on insufficient evidence. A similarity between early Palestinian and "New Race" pottery does not necessarily imply any racial connection between Libyans and Amorites, and, since Professor Petrie's date for the "New Race" was wrong by at least 2000 years, by his words, "civilization of "the southern Mediterranean," we can only understand an early civilization which was *Egyptian*, for there is as

yet no proof that the primitive culture of Palestine and of the Aegean dates from a period which is as remote as B.C. 5000. On the other hand, M. de Morgan declares that he is greatly troubled to find for the peoples who dwelt in the valley of the Nile before the Egyptians a name which will exactly express his thoughts on the subject; he cannot describe them as aborigines, or autochthones, for they were not born in the country, and they probably came from other countries, and either drove out or subjugated the men who lived in the country before them, and whom they found on their arrival there. Further, he is unable to employ the term "Libyans," for that would imply a special origin, and besides we have, he thinks, no reason for placing the hearth of this human race in one country any more than in another. Though not strictly exact, he decided to use the expression "indigènes" for describing the "New Race," and this he uses throughout his book in its relative and not absolute sense, for we know nothing whatever about the origin of this people or of those who preceded them in the Valley of the Nile.[1]

The question of the racial connection between the Egyptians and the Libyans has been discussed from a craniological point of view by Mr. Randall-Maciver, who has arrived at the following conclusion:—"The result of "this whole investigation has been to show that Libya "and early Egypt were not united by any ties of race, "but that they were in sufficiently close contact with

[1] J. de Morgan, *o.p. cit.*, p. 51.

"one another or with some common centre to have "developed a culture which was in some important "respects identical. While, however, too little is "known of the early civilization of the Berbers to "permit of stating whether it exhibited any character- "istics alien to Egypt, it is certain that the prehistoric "Egyptians were acquainted with developments of art "of which no trace is to be found in Libya. . . . A "natural prejudice inclines the archaeologist to suppose "that it was the Egyptian who possessed the superior skill, "and who supplied their products to their less civilized "neighbours without deriving much from the latter in "return; but, after all, there is not sufficient evidence "to justify any confident assertion upon the point." (*Libyan Notes,* pp. 111, 113.) In his more recent work, *Earliest Inhabitants of Abydos,* Mr. Randall-Maciver reasserts these views.

Professor Wiedemann thinks that the civilization which is illustrated by the objects from Naḳâda was in some way related to that of the western neighbours of Egypt, and that this is more evident if we consider the "incontro- "vertible connection" between the civilization of Naḳâda and that which one calls the "island civilization" of Greece, which preceded the Mycenaean period in the country of the northern Mediterranean. But with the evidence at present before us it is difficult to accept as definite or final any statement which asserts an absolute connection between the predynastic cultures of Egypt and Greece, for the very simple fact that we

have at present no reason for dating even the most primitive antiquities from Greece before B.C. 2500, whereas in respect of the predynastic antiquities of Egypt almost the latest possible date that can be assigned to them is B.C. 5000. And in this connection it is important to note that Mr. Arthur Evans' recent discoveries point to the fact that the most primitive culture of Greece, i.e., the culture illustrated by the "Island Graves," was more or less contemporaneous with the period of the XIIth Dynasty.[1] And if this be so, it follows that the fragments of painted Pre-Mycenaean pottery[2] which were found in the tombs of Tcha, Ṭen, and Semerkhat, kings of the Ist Egyptian Dynasty, cannot belong to the period of these kings, but must have been introduced into their tombs at some subsequent period. Relying on his view described above, Professor Wiedemann is of opinion that the autochthones of Egypt were related to the "Libyans," that they were conquered and reduced to a state of slavery by another people, and that at the beginning of the Early Empire they formed the inferior class in the Valley of the Nile.

The views of the eminent anthropologist and craniologist, Professor Sergi, on the subject, though neither convincing nor satisfactory, must here be noted,

[1] See Evans, *Primitive Pictographs*, p. 105 ff.; Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 71.

[2] These are exhibited in the First Vase Room of the British Museum (Wall-case No. 5).

for in his *Mediterranean Race*, p. 91 f., he says:—
"I cannot here reproduce all the reasons brought
"forward by de Morgan against the opinion of Petrie,
"but they seem to me for the most part just, and
"I accept his conclusions that we are here concerned
"with a primitive population, not one that arrived at a
"late epoch of the old Egyptian empire; as also I
"accept his opinion that we find here a civilisation
"anterior to that of the Pharaohs in its definite and
"well known forms. But I cannot follow de Morgan
"when he attempts to show, even with the aid of
"anthropology, that the prehistoric population was
"different from the Egyptian, which he would bring
"from Asia. Many arguments against his opinions
"may be found in his own discoveries at Naqada and
"elsewhere, and in the physical characters of the
"skulls described by Fouquet, as well as by Petrie.
"First of all we may note the method of burial adopted
"in the necropolis of Naqada and elsewhere, so well
"investigated by Wiedemann, who, though desiring to
"show the Asiatic origin of the Egyptians, really
"furnishes arguments favourable to the opposite
"opinion of an African origin. Excavation in a
"necropolis of the Naqada type shows that the men of
"that period had three methods of burial: 'Either the
"'grave received the disseminated and incomplete bones,
"'or the skeleton was placed in a position recalling that
"'of the foetus, or the body was burnt in a monumental
"'tomb,' as seems to have been the case with a royal

"tomb explored by de Morgan, though this has been "doubted and even denied by others. (See de Bissing, "*Les Origines de l'Égypte*, in *L'Anthropologie*, vol. ix. "p. 415.) Wiedemann, however, accepts this con- "clusion, and also agrees that these three usages are "unlike the classical customs of the Egyptians, but he "believes it may be shown that they are intimately "united with the Egyptian religion and with the "worship of Osiris and Horus, as learnt from the *Book* "*of the Dead* and the ritual formulae of the Egyptians. "Referring to dismemberment, Wiedemann states that "'the vestiges of this very ancient custom have never "'completely disappeared, and are preserved not only in "'the texts but also in actual practices. Up to a very "'late period the lower part of the foot of the mummy "'was dislocated, and in other cases the phallus of the "'corpse was cut off in order to be embalmed separately "'and buried near the mummy.' This explains, in his "opinion, the dismemberment and disorder of the "bodies in the graves discovered by Petrie, and hence "a custom which was symbolically preserved down to "the latest epoch of Egyptian history. As regards "the absence of portions of the body, explained by "Petrie as due to a special kind of anthropophagy, "with the object of inheriting the virtues of the dead, "Wiedemann gives no satisfactory explanation, but "cannot accept anthropophagy. . . . This transforma- "tion of burial customs has convinced me that there "has been a real evolution up to the definite form of

"embalming which then remained constant. Of this "Fouquet, in his craniological examination, found "evident traces in the skulls of Beit Allam, of Guebel-"Silsileh, and other places. There exists, he states, in "the skulls of the rude stone epoch in Egypt, deposits "of bitumen mixed with cerebral substance, and this "bitumen could not have been introduced by the nasal "passages, the brain not having been removed, but only "by the occipital foramen, after the head had been "cut off; and Petrie repeatedly states that the head "was generally cut off in the graves he explored. De "Morgan is compelled to admit that the burial customs "of the early Egyptians were not yet fixed. If this "was so, it cannot be affirmed that the historical "Egyptians were not the descendants of those who left "their graves at Abydos, Naqada, and Ballas, that is "to say, the graves of neolithic civilisation. Besides, "the royal tomb at Naqada, regarded as the tomb "of Menes, the founder of the Ist Dynasty, clearly "shows a transition between neolithic civilisation "and a new civilisation slowly acquiring its definite "characters."

Professor Sergi devotes several pages to a discussion of the evidence derived from craniology concerning the "New Race," which he concludes thus (p. 112):—"Not "only in this comparison of prehistoric skulls with those "of the dynasties do we find that both show the same "forms and therefore belong to the same stock, but also by "an examination of the royal mummies of Deir-el-Bahari,

"which, as I have found, yield ellipsoidal and pentagonal "forms as well as one beloid. On these grounds the "conviction has grown in my mind that there is no "difference of race between the historical Egyptians "and the men who preceded them, the so-called Proto-"Egyptians of Evans, and Morgan's 'old race.' Both "alike belong to the Mediterranean stock, and are of "African origin." The above remarks, coming as they do from an expert craniologist, are extremely interesting, but they leave an uneasy suspicion in the mind that the craniological measurements of predynastic skulls cannot be regarded as possessing any very definite or absolute authority in the settlement of the question under consideration, and that the archaeologist must expect but little help from data which are capable of being interpreted in several ways.

The view enunciated by Professor Wiedemann resembles closely that of M. Maspero, who many years ago held the opinion that the root-stock of the Egyptians was African, and in his latest pronouncement on the subject he says that the bulk of the Egyptian population presents the characteristics of the white races which one finds settled from all antiquity in the parts of the Libyan continent which are on the shores of the Mediterranean, that it originated in Africa itself, and that it made its way into Egypt from the west or from the south-west. He further suggests that when this people arrived in Egypt they may have found there a black race, which they either destroyed or

drove out, and that they were subsequently added to in number by Asiatics who were introduced either through the Isthmus of Suez or through the marshes of the Delta.[1] The views of Professors Maspero and Wiedemann seem to be the deductions which we cannot help making from the facts before us, and as they are propounded by men who are both archaeologists and Egyptologists they merit serious consideration by all who are interested in the matter. We must, however, note in passing that there is no reason for assuming the existence of a black, or negro population, who preceded the "New Race" in the occupation of the country, and that the importance of the Asiatic element in the historical Egyptian has been understated.

We are now face to face with the difficult question, "Where did the conquerors of the 'New Race' come from?" i.e., Where was the original home of the people who supplanted the "New Race," and who founded the civilization of the historical Egyptians? All the evidence now available points to the fact that these conquerors came from Asia, and as arguments which can be advanced in support of this statement the following may be mentioned:—

(1) An examination of the words found in the early Egyptian inscriptions proves that many of them are akin to the dialects of North and North-East Africa; but it is also evident that in the matter of personal

[1] *Histoire Ancienne*, Paris, 1895, pp. 45, 46.

pronouns, pronominal suffixes, idioms, etc., the language exhibits such remarkable similarities to the Semitic dialects, that they cannot be the result of accident. The only rational way to account for these phenomena is to assume that the language of the Semitic nations and that of the inhabitants of Egypt were descended from the same common stock, from which they had been severed at a very remote period. But it is not correct to assert that the Egyptian language is a Semitic dialect; on the contrary, it is one of the indigenous languages of North Africa which became greatly modified through Proto-Semitic influences; such influences must have emanated from Asia, and they did so at a time when the Semitic languages had not assumed the form in which they are known in the oldest literatures, and when they were, more or less, in a state of flux.

(2) The predynastic graves, of whatever kind, contain no inscriptions, and it is clear that those who made them were unacquainted with the art of writing. M. de Morgan declares that about B.C. 4000 the only peoples in the world who could write were the Semitic and Turanian Chaldeans, who lived side by side in Mesopotamia, and the Egyptians, who lived in a country which was at some distance from the Euphrates, and that the systems of writing employed by all three peoples had a common origin, and that it is more rational to assume that the art of writing was transmitted from the Mesopotamian to the Egyptian peoples, than to think

that it was discovered by each group independently, especially as the distance between them was comparatively small, and communication between them was relatively easy. Many scholars have held this view substantially for several years past, but all do not agree as to the details of the manner in which the transmission was effected. If we assume that the conquerors of the "New Race" came from a country in which the art of writing was practised, it is natural that they should bring with them a knowledge of it into Egypt; but although the fundamentals of the picture systems of writing employed in Mesopotamia and Egypt may at one time have been identical, it is quite certain that they developed on entirely different lines, and that an important factor in the different methods of development was the material employed for writing purposes in the two countries. In Mesopotamia the material most used for writing upon was clay, while in Egypt papyrus was employed; this was probably due to the fact that because of its fine texture and tenacity the clay of Mesopotamia was more suitable for tablets which had to be inscribed and baked, than the mud of Egypt. Be this as it may, the influence of the material upon the writing was soon evident, for whereas the Egyptian scribe found it was very easy to depict the curves and circular forms of natural and artificial objects on papyrus, his Babylonian brother found it to be almost impossible to do so, and he was obliged to make wedges impressed upon the soft clay to

take the place of linear designs.[1] That the knowledge of writing was probably derived from some Asiatic source seems evident, but the Egyptian written character was not a modification of the linear Babylonian script, still less of any variation of cuneiform character; it is probably more correct to assert that the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the early cuneiform characters had a common ancestor, of which no traces have survived.

(3) The predynastic graves of the later period were found to contain numbers of small objects made of copper and bronze; the material for the former might quite well have been dug out from the mines of Sinai by the indigenous peoples of Egypt, though no evidence in support of this view exists. On the other hand, there is every probability that they obtained their knowledge of the artificial composition bronze from some nation that dwelt in or near Southern Mesopotamia, where bronze was apparently made and used for various purposes at a very early period.

(4) Perhaps one of the strongest arguments in favour of an Asiatic origin of the conquerors of the "New Race" is the use, in the early ages only of Egyptian history, of the cylinder seal, which is one of the chief characteristics of the Sumerian and Babylonian civilization, and which was employed universally in Mesopo-

[1] The most recent word on this interesting subject has been said by Mr. L. W. King in his *Easy Lessons in the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 3 ff. The development of the wedge characters from the picture signs is well illustrated by the comparative list given on p. 4.

tamia and the neighbouring countries from the earliest to the latest times. In Egypt the earliest cylinder seals appear not to be older than the Ist Dynasty, and the latest in the British Museum is No. 16,579, which is inscribed with the name of Ámen-hetep I., B.C. 1600. In connection with cylinder seals must also be mentioned the art of brick-making, and as we do not find any brick buildings in Egypt much before the period of the Ist Dynasty, whilst they were common in Mesopotamia from the earliest times, we are justified in assuming that a knowledge of brick-making was brought into the country from the East.

(5) It has been declared that whilst in general the Babylonians buried their dead in a semi-embryonic position,[1] they were sometimes in the habit of burning them partly or wholly,[2] but sufficient regard has not been paid to the *date* of the tombs in Babylonia which are here referred to. The glazed pottery which is found with such burials, and the peculiar character of the earthenware coffins and objects that accompany them, proclaim that all such burials belong to a period subsequent to that of the rule of the Persians in Mesopotamia; we should therefore be in error if we attempted to prove a connection between the predynastic Egyptians and the Babylonians by comparing a tomb

[1] See Taylor, *Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyr* (Journal R.A.S., xv. (1855), p. 270).

[2] Koldewey, *Die Altbabylonischen Gräber* (Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. ii. pp. 403–430).

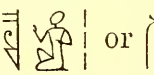
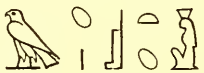
in Babylonia of, say, B.C. 250, with a tomb in Egypt of, say, B.C. 5000. Besides this, we are assuming that the conquerors of the "New Race" were akin to the Babylonians, and it was this very people who introduced into Egypt the custom of burying the dead lying on their back at full length, a custom which eventually superseded the indigenous Egyptian practice of burying the dead in a semi-embryonic position. From the famous "Stela of the Vultures" [1] it is clear that the early Babylonians were buried lying at full length and *not* in the doubled-up position which is the chief characteristic of the earliest race of Egyptians.

The facts set out in the above five paragraphs make it clear that the invaders of Egypt who conquered the "New Race" and amalgamated with them came from the East, and although it cannot be proved, as is sometimes stated,[2] that the Egyptians derived their earliest culture from Babylonia, it is certain that many of the most important elements of Egyptian culture were brought into Egypt by a people who were not remotely connected with the Babylonians. Where did this people come from? By what route did they enter Egypt? To answer these questions two theories have been propounded: according to one, the conquerors of the "New Race" entered Egypt from the north-east by way of the peninsula of Sinai and the Delta, making

[1] E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 97, plate 3 *C*, Paris, 1884.

[2] Hommel, *The Civilization of the East*, p. 1.

their way thence up the river; according to the other, which is certainly the more probable, starting from some point in Southern Arabia, they crossed over the straits of Bâb al-Mandab to the African shore, which they followed northwards until they arrived at the entrance of the Wâdî Ḥammâmât at Ḳuṣêr,[1] they then entered this valley, and after a few days' march arrived in Egypt near the ancient city of Coptos. According to both theories this people was of a Proto-Semitic origin, and as it is admitted by many eminent authorities that the cradle of the Semitic Race was in Arabia, the home of these invaders may quite well have been in the southern part of that country, and their civilization may equally well have been derived from the Sumerians of Babylonia. In favour of this latter theory the following arguments may be adduced :—

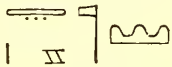
1. Tradition generally asserts that the god Horus of Beḥuṭet and his servants, or followers, who are described as *mesniu* or *mesenti*,  or  i.e., "metal-workers," and who are to be identified with the Shemsu Ḥeru  or "followers of Horus," who accompany the other form of the god, i.e., Horus the son of Isis,  Ḥeru-sa-Âst, (Harsiesis), came from the South and not the North. By the word South we are not to understand Nubia or Central Africa, as some have con-

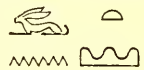
[1] The القصير of Yâḳût, IV. p. 126.

tended, but the South of Egypt, or Upper Egypt, when the writer is considering the matter from the standpoint of Lower Egypt. Now in the whole legend of Horus and his *mesniu* we no doubt have a tradition of the invasion of Egypt from the South by the conquerors of the "New Race," who succeeded in overthrowing the indigenous peoples chiefly by their weapons of metal. The hieroglyphic inscriptions which record this legend under different forms mention the neighbourhood of Denderah as the place where the principal battle between Horus and his *mesniu* and the indigenous people took place, a record of the incident being preserved in the name of the place which the Egyptians called "Khaṭā-neter"  i.e., the "god's slaughter."[1] Now, according to the second theory the invaders made their way to Ḳuṣêr, and if they entered Egypt by the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, they would strike the Nile at a point near the modern town of Ḳena, which is almost exactly opposite Denderah, near which, as we have said above, the battle took place. Having arrived at this point the conquerors occupied the country to the south as well as to the north, but they seem to have met with considerable opposition near Thebes, and not to have advanced much further than the modern town of Edfu, where their leader founded a settlement, which continued to the

[1] On this legend see Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, plates 12–19; and Maspero, *Les Forgerons d'Horus*, *Études de Mythologie*, Vol. II. p. 313 ff.

latest times, and formed the principal seat of the worship of Horus of Beḥuṭet. This is the legend of the fight between Horus and Set, i.e., the struggle of the invading leader and his followers against the so-called "New Race."

2. Another legend makes the goddess Hathor (i.e.,  Het-Ḥeru, "House of Horus"), the principal seat of whose worship was at Denderah, come from Ta-neter , i.e., the "divine land," or "land of the god"; in late times this name is often applied in the texts to Egypt, but in the earliest times it always refers to a country to the *south* of Egypt, which may well be identified with Somaliland and Abyssinia, or even the country further to the north, i.e., the modern Erythrea.

3. The Egyptians themselves always seem to have had some idea that they were connected with the people of the land of Punt , a country which is probably identical with the Ta-neter, or the "divine land" mentioned above, and M. Naville thinks that there may have been among the Egyptians a "vague and ancient tradition that they originally came from the land of Punt, and that it had been their home before they invaded and conquered the lower valley of the Nile."[1] As the name Punt is always written in the texts without , the determinative of a foreign

[1] *Deir el Bahari*, Pt. III., London, 1898, p. 11.

country, it seemed as if they regarded the people of that place as being racially connected with themselves; and we are probably justified in regarding the inhabitants of Punt as a section of the invading hosts from Arabia which was left behind by the greater portion of the conquerors on their way from the Bâb al-Mandab to Ḳuṣêr. Whether this be so or not, it is quite obvious from the representations of the people of Punt which occur on the monuments that the racial connection between the two peoples must have been exceedingly close; and we may note in passing that the plaited, turned-up beard which is a characteristic of the Egyptian gods is found to have been worn by the inhabitants of Punt in the time of Queen Ḥātshepset; and also by the Egyptians of the 1st Dynasty, though never at a later date. It is sometimes stated that the conquering race, having passed through Punt to Egypt, made its way onwards into Palestine, and that the Philistines (of the Bible) are probably a branch of this race; such a statement, however, ignores all the arguments in favour of a Western or European origin for the Philistines. To suggest still further that the name of the people of Punt is in any way connected with that of the Poeni or Phoenicians, who in later times founded the Punic colony of Carthage, is to betray an ignorance of the following facts:—1. That the Phoenicians were pure Semites, who spoke a language which was almost identical with Hebrew; 2. That there is no evidence that they called themselves

by any name which in any way resembled Pun or Punt or the Greek Phoinix; 3. That the Latin adjective *punicus* is derived from the noun Poenus, which is the Latin equivalent of the word Phoinix, between which and the word Punt there is no resemblance or connection whatsoever.

It may now be mentioned that the theory, which would make the conquerers of the "New Race" enter Egypt by the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, receives a remarkable confirmation in the fact that the earliest tombs and monuments of the dynastic Egyptians are found in the neighbourhood of Coptos, where the Wâdî Ḥammâmât opens into the Nile Valley, i.e., at Abydos and Naḳâda, and that Manetho states that the first two dynasties of kings were of Thinite origin. We have briefly described the excavations which have been made in the predynastic cemeteries of Egypt by Europeans and others, and have mentioned the principal deductions, which may fairly be made from the facts which have come to light through the labours of the excavators, concerning the original homes and origin of those who were buried in them; and we may now, in a few paragraphs, summarize the information derived from an examination of the objects which were found in them, and so endeavour to give the reader an idea of the physical characteristics and customs of the men who at such a remote period, by their skill and knowledge, obtained a position of pre-eminence among their fellows.

The predynastic Egyptians, that is to say, that stratum of them which was indigenous to North Africa, belonged to a white or light-skinned race with fair hair,[1] who in many particulars resembled the Libyans, who in later historical times lived very near the western bank of the Nile. They were dolichocephalic, or "long-headed," i.e., the diameter of their skulls from side to side, or the transverse diameter, bore a less proportion to the longitudinal diameter, i.e., that from front to back, than 8 to 10; hence they were, both physically and mentally, entirely different from the Egyptians, whose skulls, in respect of measurements, occupy a middle position between the dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic, or "short-headed" men. The hair of both sexes was short, and the beards of the men were long and pointed, but turned up at the points; the faces of both men and women were regular and oval in shape, and the lips projected but slightly. The eyes of the women were almond shaped and very broad, and they were shaded with heavy, arched eyebrows; the figures of the women were comparatively slim, their thighs were broad, and their feet of moderate size, with, in some cases, a good instep. Both men and women seem to have had slightly sloping shoulders, and to have been a little above the average height, and

[1] Prof. Virchow (*Abhandlungen der Königl. Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1899) declares that the light colour of the hair found on predynastic bodies is due to the action of the salt in the soil, and that the hair was originally black.

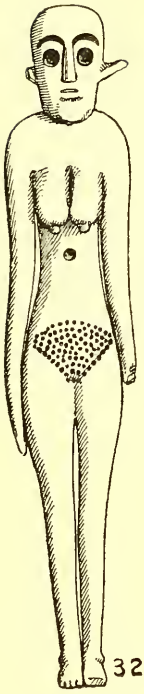
not of a heavy type in their build. They seem to have tattooed their bodies with figures of animals and with wavy lines, etc., but the direct evidence for this assumption is not very strong.[1] It is well known that nearly all semi-savage or barbarous peoples adorn their bodies either with painted scenes or with tattooed designs, and there is no good reason for believing that the predynastic Egyptians formed any exception to the general rule. The dynastic Egyptians do not seem to have adopted tattooing on any considerable scale, although, according to the examples quoted by Professor Wiedemann,[2] they resorted to it occasionally, but M. de Morgan thinks that the pieces of red and yellow ochre, which are found so frequently in the tombs of the predynastic Egyptians, formed the colouring matter which they used in tattooing, and if this be so the custom must have been widespread. It is probable that in the daytime most of the predynastic Egyptians wore no clothing of any kind, but the members of the ruling houses or families seem to have worn the undressed skins of animals, such as goats or gazelles, made into drawers which they fastened round the waist with a rope or cord tied into a knot; in any case there is no evidence that they wore long, loose, flowing garments. It seems that when skins of animals were worn it was the custom to allow the tail of the

[1] See J. de Morgan, *Ethnographie Préhistorique*, p. 56.

[2] See J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 222, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 106, 109.

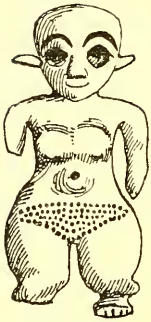
animal to hang down behind the man's back; this is a characteristic of men's dress in the early dynastic times, and survives as an important feature of the festal costume of kings and gods down to the latest period. The principal garment of the women seems to have been a skirt, not very loose, which reached almost to the ankles, and the upper part of the body and the arms remained without covering. In the accompanying illustration are reproduced a few predynastic ivory figures of women from the British Museum collection, which will give the reader an idea of the general appearance of women during the predynastic period. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 illustrate the earliest types, and Nos. 4, 5, and 6 a later type, which shows the treatment of the hair when allowed to grow long; No. 5 has eyes inlaid with lapis-lazuli, by which we are probably intended to understand that the woman here represented had blue eyes. No. 7 belongs probably to a much later date, for, judging by the fringed or pleated work round the neck of the garment which the woman wears, at the period when she lived the people must have been able to weave linen of some fineness; another proof of the later date of the figure is the manner in which the hair is gathered up into a mass, and held in position by a fillet which runs round the back of the head. According to M. de Morgan, the art of weaving was unknown to the earliest predynastic Egyptians, and he bases this view upon the fact that he found no woven stuffs in any of the graves except such as contained

No. 1.



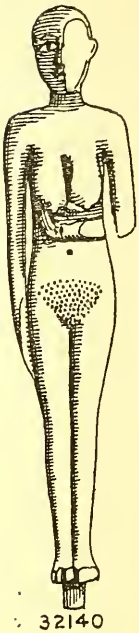
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No. 2.



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No. 4.



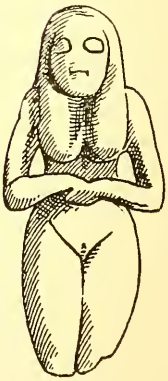
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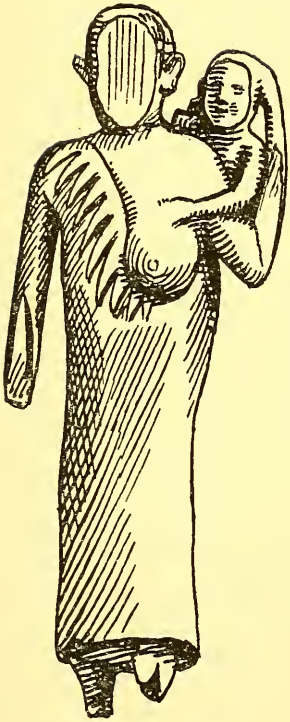
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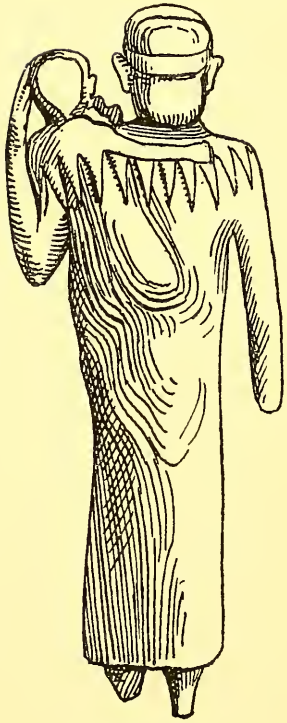
No. 7.

Front View.



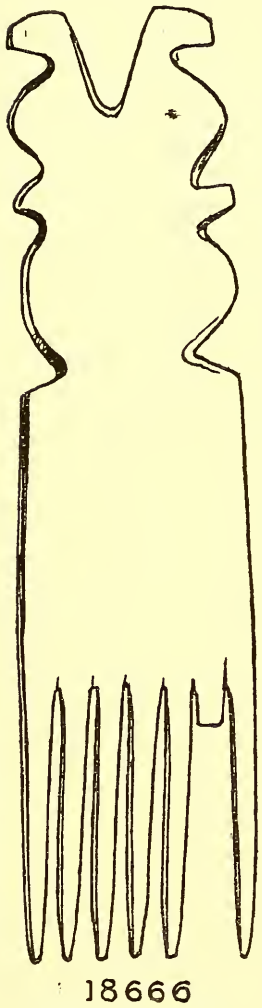
No. 7

Back View.



Bone or ivory figure of a mother and child of the early Dynastic Period (?)
(Full size.)

metal objects; in this case No. 7 must belong either to the period of the Ist Dynasty or that which immediately preceded it.



Bone or ivory comb, Predynastic Period.

Predynastic women wore necklaces of beads made of carnelian, agate, flint, and other hard stones, and of limestone, and shells; bracelets made of ivory, limestone, flint, and mother-of-pearl have also been found in their graves. The flint bracelets prove that the makers must have possessed a marvellous facility in the working of flint, which could only have been acquired as the result of flint-working for generations, and we may well believe that the production of a flint bracelet marked the highest point of the art. Flint bracelets are rare in dynastic times, and it seems as if Egyptian women then no longer wore them. A number of bone combs with short teeth have been found in predynastic graves, but they can hardly have been used except for purposes of ornament, if they were known in the early period, for women as well as men wore their hair short; some combs are surmounted by

figures of birds, but these must belong to the period which immediately preceded dynastic times. Side by side with these must be mentioned the large numbers of bone and ivory objects to which the name pendants has been given; they are often curved and in shape generally resemble the claw of an animal. Some of them are pierced at the broad end, and some of them have notches cut there, and all of them are ornamented with horizontal, diagonal, or zigzag lines; it seems as if such objects must have been worn as ornaments, or have served some purpose of the toilet. In the same class M. de Morgan groups the long, hollow ivory sticks which are made in the form of rude figures of men; the larger end is usually closed by means of a stopper made of some resinous substance, and the hollow beneath is found to be filled with coloured substance, such as sulphur of antimony, etc.

Thus we have seen that the earliest predynastic men and women in Egypt dressed themselves in skins, and that their descendants, certainly the female portion of them at least, made themselves garments out of woven fabrics, and that the ornaments worn by the women consisted of necklaces of beads made of stones, etc., of bracelets made of flint, etc., and of combs, pendants, and plaques made of bone and ivory. The ivory sticks referred to above as being filled with some coloured substance we may look upon as prototypes of the *kohl* or stibium tubes of the dynastic period, and the presence of sulphur of antimony, to which

M. de Morgan refers, adds confirmation to the suggestion.

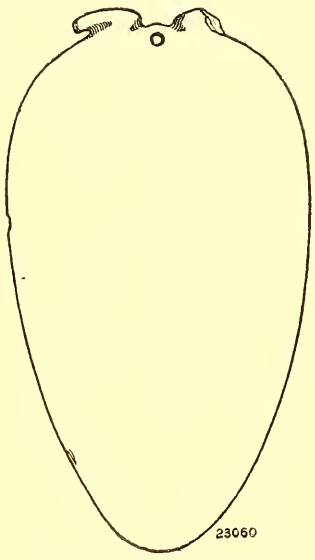
The dwellings of the predynastic Egyptians were small huts formed of branches of trees or reeds,[1] tied together with twigs, and probably much resembled the huts, with walls formed of reeds tied together and roofs made of the dried leaves of palms called "salatîk," which are in common use among the better classes of the Sûdân at the present day; in the summer time they did, no doubt, as the modern Egyptian does when he is pasturing his flocks in Upper Egypt, i.e., simply sheltered themselves behind a mat of reeds through which the wind could easily make its way. Of the position of such dwellings nothing can be said, for all traces of the habitations of the predynastic Egyptians in the actual valley are buried under some forty feet of Nile mud. Buildings or houses made of crude brick usually contain the remains of metal objects, a fact which is sufficient to prove that the art of brick-making is one of the characteristics of the conquerors of the "New Race," i.e., of the invaders from the East. Whether the indigenous population was dense or only very large cannot at present be said, but, judging from the remains of the predynastic settlements which M. de Morgan identified on the edge of the desert on both

[1] This view was also held by Diodorus Siculus (I. xliii.), *οἴκησιν ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἔχειν δοκιμάζοντας ἀρκεῖσθαι ταύτῃ.* (Ed. Didot, p. 36.)

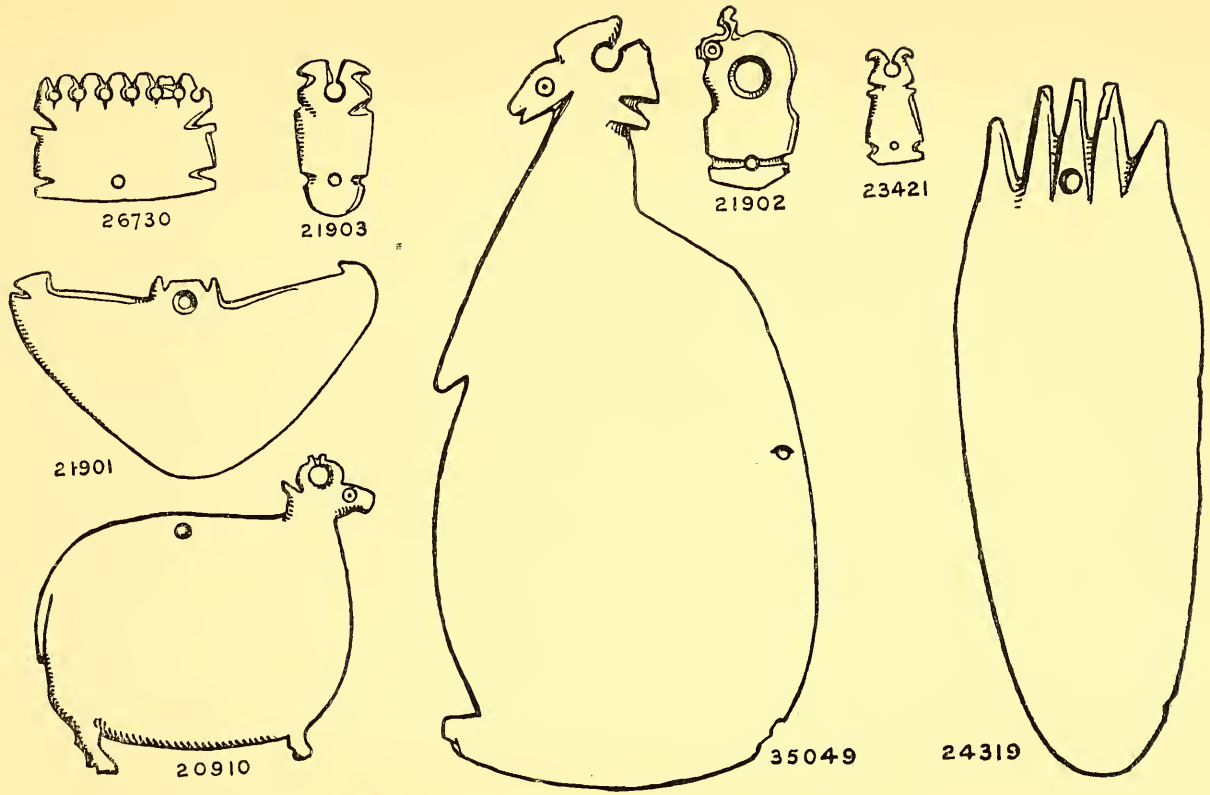
banks of the Nile, the occupants of the country must have been tolerably numerous.

From the fact that the predynastic Egyptians buried their dead in skins of animals, and that they also wore drawers made of skins, we are justified in assuming that they spent much of their time in hunting in the forests, which in the period of their earliest occupation of the Nile Valley covered the banks of the river. The numerous ivory objects which have been found in their graves seem to indicate that the elephant must have been one of the wild animals which they hunted, but it is pretty certain that long before the arrival of the dynastic Egyptians that mighty beast had retreated from the country and made his home further to the south. The name "Ābu," i.e., "elephant," which is given to the Island of Elephantine in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, is probably due to the fact that some one in very early days thought that the shape of the island resembled that of an elephant, just as some centuries ago the Arabs, thinking that the piece of land on which the great city was built at the point where the Blue Nile flows into the White Nile resembled the trunk of an elephant, called the city itself "Khartûm," i.e., "elephant's trunk." The chief point of interest in the old name of Elephantine Island is that the early Egyptians who gave it the name "Ābu" must have known what an elephant was like, and that they were familiar with the form of the animal. But although the elephant was not found in

Egypt in early dynastic times, we are certain that the hippopotamus was, and that he was often hunted either in or near Egypt is clear from the fact that the tombs of great men often contain pictures showing the pursuit and attack of the beast by the deceased; the wild bull, the wild boar, and all the various kinds of animals of the gazelle and antelope species, the lion, leopards of various kinds, the hyaena, the wolf, the jackal, the crocodile, etc., were frequently hunted. The principal homes of such wild animals must have been the swamps and marshes which existed in many parts of the Nile Valley and in the Delta, and it was in these that the predynastic and dynastic Egyptians sought their prey; the formation of such can be well explained by what takes place to this day in the rivers to the south of Egypt. As long as the rivers are in flood their irregular channels are filled to overflowing, but as soon as the rains in Central Africa cease the rivers fall rapidly, and before long dry patches and sand-banks appear in their beds. As the supply of water further diminishes, such patches grow wider and longer, and eventually the river becomes nothing but a series of lakes and marshes or swamps, separated

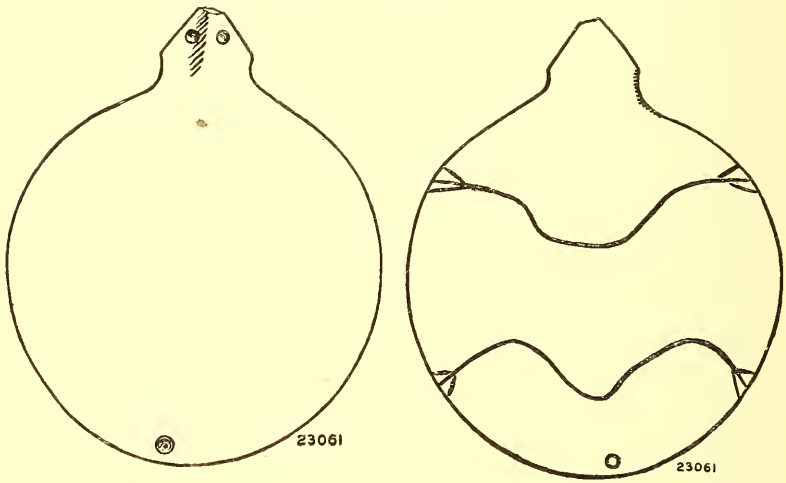


Green slate object representing a cuttle fish. Predynastic Period.



Group of green slate objects in the form of animals, etc. Predynastic Period.

from each other by long reaches of sand; want of water compels the animals and reptiles to congregate in and about such lakes and swamps, and travellers who have seen such in the remote parts of the Atbara and of the Blue and White Niles describe the scenes as something extraordinary. Here may be seen elephants, hippopotami, lions, hyaenas, panthers, crocodiles, turtles, etc., all living together in a peace which is forced upon



Green slate object representing turtle. Predynastic Period.

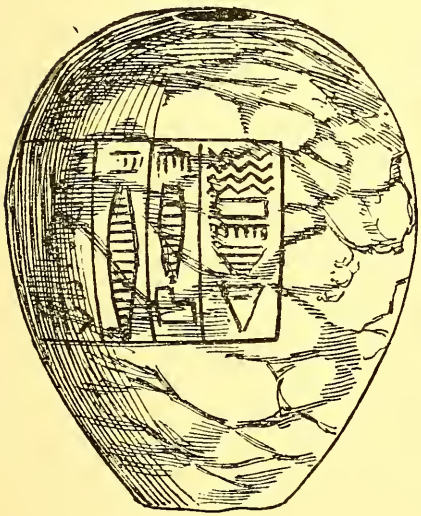
them by their common enemy—thirst. What is true of the Atbara and other rivers of the kind in our own days was true for the Nile in predynastic and dynastic times, and for long after the conquerors of the "New Race" had made their way into Egypt the lords of the land would be able to indulge their fancy for hunting "big game." To attempt to enumerate the birds of predynastic Egypt is hopeless, for the varieties must

have been exceedingly numerous; the forms of a large number of species have been preserved by the hieroglyphic characters of the dynastic Egyptians, but these probably only represent the varieties which, either by their habits or through the ideas which were associated with them in early times, appealed in a special manner to the early masters of picture writing. Moreover, it is more than probable that by the time the dynastic Egyptians had developed their system of writing, several of the species of birds of predynastic Egypt had ceased to exist. The ostrich seems to have been esteemed in a most unusual manner, for remains of its eggs and bones are often found in predynastic graves; the few perfect specimens which have been discovered are usually pierced at the ends and covered with designs of various kinds. It is interesting to note that ostriches' eggs are used in the ornamentation of churches and mosques in many parts of Egypt and in the countries lying further east, to this day, and a certain amount of sanctity is generally attached to them; they are pierced and suspended by cords attached to the roofs in prominent parts of these edifices. In some churches they are hung before the altar, and the present writer has seen many which have been painted and decorated before they were so hung. Neither Christian nor Muḥammadan had any good reason to give for having such things in their churches and mosques, and no one seemed to know what the eggs typified, but the preservation of the

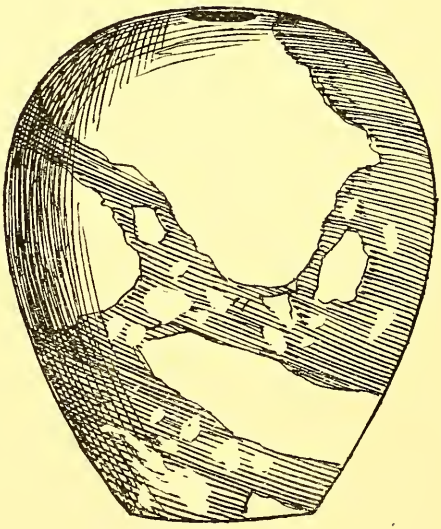
egg of the ostrich with such reverence is, no doubt, a survival of a custom which was common in prehistoric times.

We have now to consider the various kinds of weapons with which the predynastic Egyptian armed himself when he set out to hunt wild animals, or to defend himself in war against his enemies. The commonest and simplest form of weapon, and that with which man first defended himself, was the stick or staff; when used as a weapon the stick was short, and when used as a mark of rank or dignity it was long. To make the short stick more effective it was weighted at one end with a piece of ivory or stone, which was either tied on to the stick or pierced in such a way that it might fit on to the end of the stick. Such stones, or mace-heads, as they are generally called, are usually conical in shape, and are made of several kinds of stone, the most favourite, however, being breccia, or the red and yellow "plum-pudding" stone; a mace-head attached to a stout stick about two feet long would make a very formidable club, and it is, no doubt, the knowledge of this fact which has caused this weapon to be popular all over the world. The accompanying illustrations represent the famous "mace-head" inscribed with the name of the Babylonian king Sargon I., of Agade, about B.C. 3800, and a "mace-head" from a predynastic grave in Egypt; both are of the same shape, both are pierced in the same way, and both are made of the same kind of stone,

but the former was found more than twenty years ago in Mesopotamia, and the latter was found at Abydos in Egypt a few years ago. Mace-heads are sometimes round in shape, and both round and conical were used all over Babylonia and Assyria from Sumerian times down to the period of the last Assyrian Empire, and, if Sumerian legend is to be trusted, the



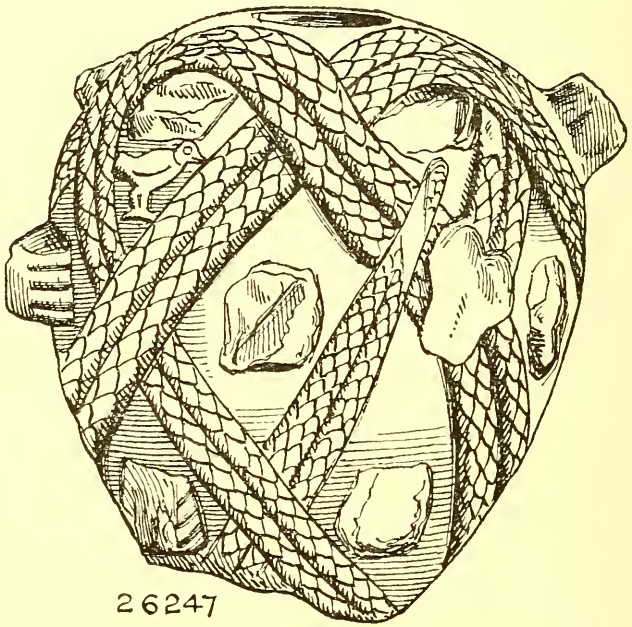
Mace-head of Sargon I. of Agade.



Mace-head from a predynastic grave.

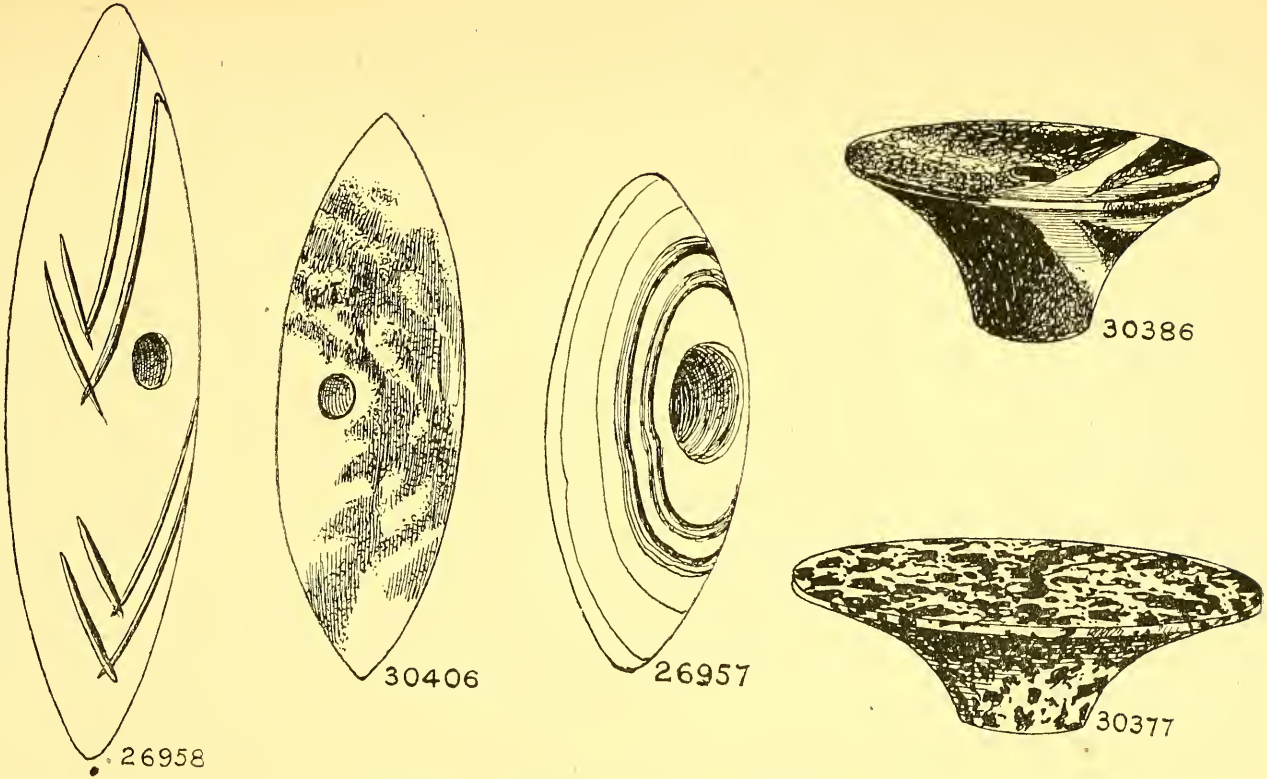
great god Marduk, when he was commissioned by the gods to wage war on their behalf against Tiamat and the brood of fiends whom she had spawned, armed himself with a *mul-mullu*, or club, of this kind, and the weapon helped him to slay the monster. To this day the people of Mesopotamia in their journeys through the desert carry with them clubs made of a short piece

of stout stick with a head made of bitumen and clay, and its shape closely resembles that of the club which is represented on some of the Assyrian sculptures. In Egypt the club was used both by predynastic and dynastic Egyptians, and in one form or the other it is found on walls and reliefs wherever battle scenes are represented. The mace-head figured on this page is of



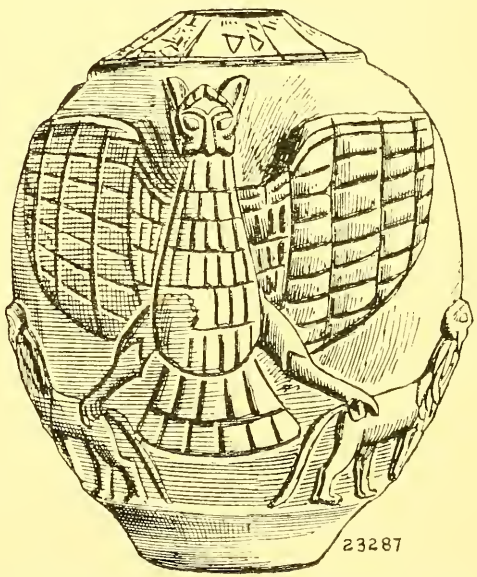
Egyptian limestone mace-head of the Archaic Period.

peculiar interest. It was found in an early dynastic grave, and is made of hard limestone; it is ornamented with a representation of a serpent coiled round it, and with figures of birds, and the projections on it recall the spiked club of mediaeval times. It is probable that this object was mounted on a long stick and then



Variegated stone mace-heads of the Predynastic Period.

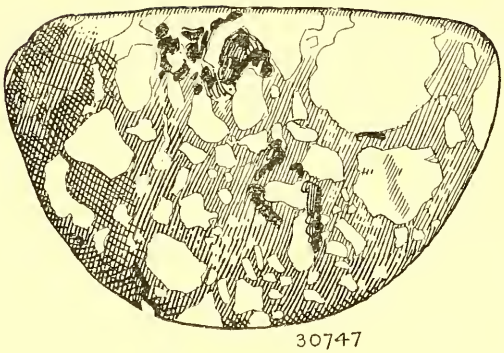
carried about in processions or used for ceremonial purposes, even as some of the large mace-heads were used in Babylonia. An example of this class is figured below. Close by the perforation, on the top, is inscribed the record of the dedication of a temple to the god Ningirsu, by Enannadu, a governor of Shirpurla, or Lagash, about B.C. 4500. Round the object are sculptured in relief rude figures of an eagle, lions, etc., which are considered by some to form the ancient emblem of the city Shirpurla, the modern Tell Lo. Another form of mace-head which has been found in predynastic graves is illustrated by the drawings on page 65, and it is, perhaps, right to group here the class of stone objects of which specimens are represented on the same page; all these are in the British Museum.



Mace-head inscribed with the record of the dedication of a temple to Ningirsu by Enannadu, governor of Lagash in Babylonia, B.C. 4500.

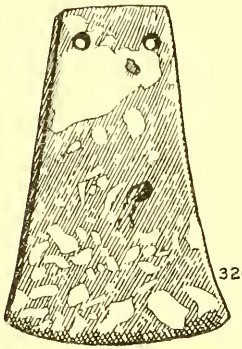
The next most useful object commonly employed by the predynastic Egyptians, whether for purposes of war or peace, was the axe-head, which was made

No. 1.



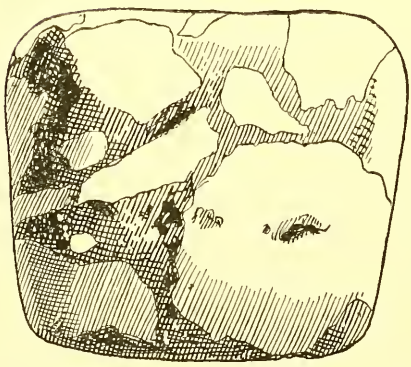
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Axe-heads of the Archaic Period, made of variegated red and yellow stone.

either of flint or of some other hard stone, and was either polished or left rough; it was probably fastened to its handle by means of leathern thongs. Flint daggers, knives, spear-heads, arrow-heads, scrapers, etc., have been found in large numbers, and nearly every great museum contains numerous examples of the various types of these objects. In spite, however, of the excellence of their flint weapons the predynastic Egyptians must have trapped or snared the greater number of wild beasts which they killed, for none of

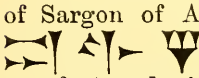
their weapons mentioned above would be effective in the case of "big game," except at close quarters, and after the animal had been dragged down. With them hunting was a necessity, and it must have formed one of the chief sources of their food supply; their other great source was the Nile, which must always have contained large numbers of fine fish. The flint harpoons which have been found prove that the early indigenous peoples of Egypt knew how to spear fish with such implements, and the fishing scenes in the tombs testify to the fact that the Egyptians of dynastic times were as skilful in the gentle art as their predecessors. The greater number of the fish caught, however, were probably obtained not by spearing but by reed traps built at the sides of the river, and some were, no doubt, caught by the line and net. But there must have been a time when the predynastic Egyptian possessed neither line nor net, and when he did what the poor peasant in Mesopotamia does to this day. Having selected a place on the river-bank where the side is not too steep and the water is not too deep, he fixes a number of stout reeds on sticks upright in the river in such a manner that they form a semi-circular palisade, one end of which touches the bank, whilst the other does not quite touch it; by these means a portion of the water is enclosed. In the gap which is left between the one end of the palisade and the river-bank are placed a number of reeds slantwise with their tops pointing inwards towards the enclosure, and experience proves that when

the fish have once swum over them they are unable to swim back; they are thus caught in a trap which has the merit of having water continually running through it, and is, besides, inexpensive. Great numbers of large fish are frequently caught in such traps along the swamps through which the Tigris and Euphrates flow, but in the portions of these rivers where the current runs fast traps of this kind are unprofitable, for the stream washes the reeds out of the ground. That some such method as this of catching fish must have been employed in Egypt in the earliest times is evident—for as M. de Morgan has rightly observed,[1] the peoples on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates and the Nile must have developed under the same conditions, since they had the same needs, and they possessed the same natural resources, and lived under almost the same natural conditions, in countries the soil of which had been formed in almost the same manner.

In his pursuit of his calling, or in quest of food, the predynastic fisherman must have discovered at a very early period that his labours would be much lightened if he had the means of following up his prey in the marshes, and his inventive faculties were soon set to work to make a raft or boat of some kind. The materials used first of all by him were, no doubt, tree trunks and reeds, or the leaves of some kind of tree resembling the palm; he guided the tree trunk with his

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

feet and hands in the shallows, and probably with a stick or pole in the deeper waters, but the difficulties which he must have met with in directing his trunk whenever he found himself in a current must have induced him to contrive some better and surer means of conveyance over the waters. Shallow boats made of reeds plaited or tied together were then probably invented, and as long as only sheets of water, like the lakes in the Delta, or marshes, had to be traversed they suited the purpose for which they were intended admirably. Reed boats are known to have existed in Egypt long after the conquest of the "New Race," and the mention of the "ark of bulrushes,"[1] in which Hebrew tradition declares Moses to have been placed, suggests that the knowledge of such boats existed down to comparatively late times, though it must be admitted that this portion of the story of the great law-giver may have descended from a very ancient period, and may have formed part of a legend of an earlier hero which the later writer introduced into his narrative. The existence of boats in the predynastic period has been for some years past considered to be proved by the paintings found on contemporaneous pottery, but one archaeologist, Mr. Cecil Torr, identifies as ostrich farms the remarkable paintings which another supposes to represent boats.

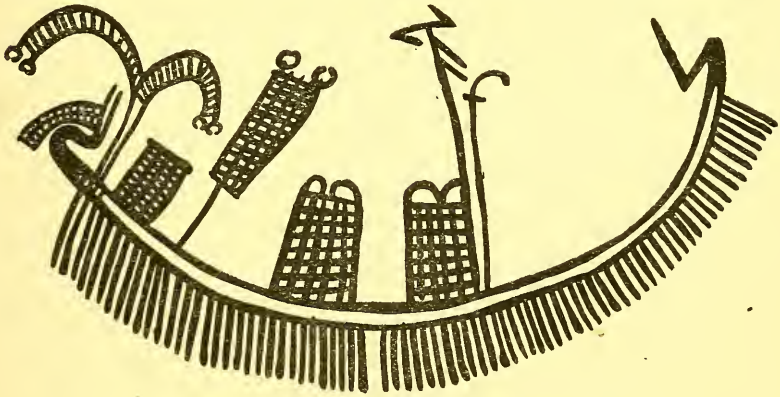
[1] The Babylonian version of the story states that the mother of Sargon of Agade placed her son in a "basket of reeds,"  *Ḳuppi sha shuri*, the door of which was fastened with bitumen; see *Cuneiform Texts*, Part xiii., pl. 42, line 5.

In an interesting paper published in *L'Anthropologie*, entitled *Sur quelques prétendus Navires Égyptiens*, Mr. Torr has reproduced a number of drawings of early boats from vases in the British Museum which have the great merit of being faithful copies of the objects which they represent; accuracy of representation is, as Mr. Torr says, an important consideration in the interpretation of the subjects.[1] Mr. Torr goes on to point out that though we have human beings, gazelles and ostriches depicted on the vases, we never have fish; that no rowers are ever represented in the supposed boats; and from certain lines on one side of a model of a boat made of the same material as the vases, he draws conclusions which confirm him in his opinion that the long curved lines do not represent boats at all. On the contrary, he thinks the curved line represents a rampart, that the straight short lines, which are usually called oars, represent a *glacis*, that the gap which is seen in this row marks the path by which the rampart is approached, and that the objects which are called cabins are nothing else than little towers on each side of the rampart.[2] In the accompanying

[1] "J'appelle l'attention sur les inexactitudes dans les figures de M. de Morgan comme dans celles de M. Petrie, parce que le degré de confiance que méritent ces images est une considération importante pour l'interprétation des sujets."

[2] "Pour ma part, je crois que les longues lignes courbes, qui ont été considérées comme représentant des navires, sont, en réalité, l'indication d'un rempart; que les lignes droites plus courtes, qualifiées de rames, indiqent une sorte de glacis; que la lacune qui

illustrations, which are drawn from predynastic vases in the British Museum, a few varieties of such paintings are depicted, and an examination of them will show that they really are intended to represent boats, and the pictures of boats which are drawn upon papyri of a late period prove that certain of their characteristics were preserved long after their meanings had been forgotten. All the boats here represented are



Representation of a boat from a predynastic vase.

of the same kind, and the plan of their construction proves that they were intended for river work, where it was necessary for the bow or stern of the boat to project up the bank over the shallow water there. This fact makes it impossible for such boats to have been used for sea-going purposes as suggested by Prof. Petrie.

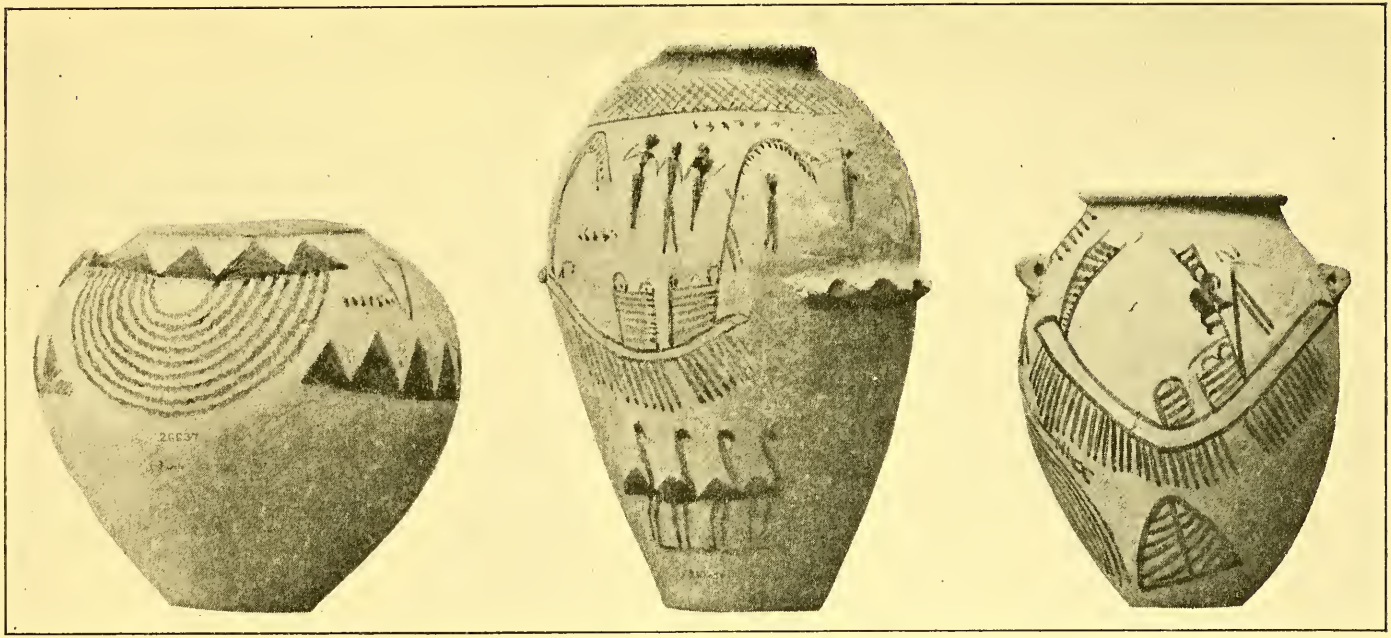
s'observe dans cette rangée marque le sentier par lequel on accédait au rempart ; enfin, que les objets qualifiés des cabines ne sont pas autre chose que de petites tourelles de part et d'autre de l'entrée du rempart." *L'Anthropologie*, tom. ix., p. 32 ; see also p. 717.

Each boat contains two small huts, which are placed amidships, and attached to one of these is a sort of mast, on the top of which is an emblem of some kind; in the front of the boat is placed what appears to be a branch or bough of a tree, and in some examples[1] a rope for tying up is represented under the front of the boat, and steering poles are represented at the stern. The numerous lines which project from the boat vertically downwards are considered by Prof. Petrie[2] to represent oars, and he believes such boats to be neither more nor less than rowing galleys, probably because they contain nothing which can be identified as sails; he would rather refer "these galleys to the Mediterranean than to the Nile,"[3] and considers the pottery on which such "galleys" are represented to have been "imported into Egypt from elsewhere." But if the vertical lines really represent oars the boats in which they were worked must have been very large indeed, in fact they would probably have been too large to float on the Nile; but whether this was so or not

[1] See Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. 67, No. 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[3] Professor Petrie says:—"Whether it be a sea or river boat is important. Nile boats are always mainly worked by a sail, and sails were used from the IVth Dynasty onward in a well-developed form. On the other hand, rowing galleys have characterized the Mediterranean; the most reliable power of propulsion on that sea has always been rowing, and the galleys of the sea-fight under Rameses III., at Salamis, at Actium, of the Venetian Republic, of the Algerian Corsairs, of the French navy, show that oars were generally more important than men."



1. 2. 3.

Predynastic vases, red on buff ground.

1. Jar with suspensory handles: wavy lines and representations of mountains.
2. Jar with wavy handles: boat, ostriches, men, etc.
3. Jar with suspensory handles: boat with banner, etc.

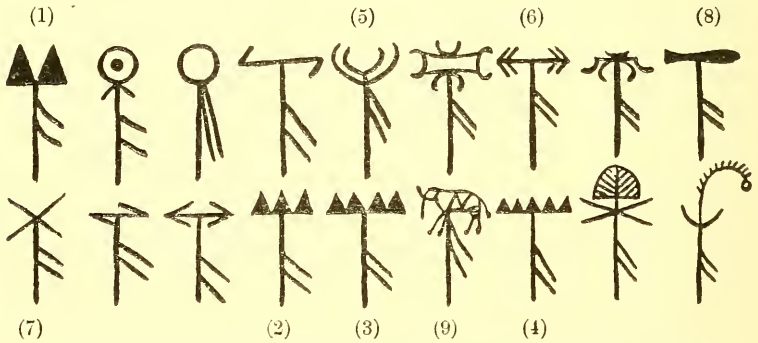
some other explanation of the lines must clearly be sought; for there is no evidence in support of the theory that they represent oars. M. de Morgan thinks that they depict "engins de pêche," i.e., fishing tackle, or some unknown objects,[1] but until we have some definite information as to the way in which such boats were built[2] it seems idle to speculate on the matter. There remains to be considered in connection with these predynastic boats the object, which resembles a bough or branch of a tree, or a mat, in the bows of the boat, and the mast, with the symbol on the top of it, which is attached to the aft cabin. It has been thought[3] that the bough "is placed at the stem to shade the look-out man," but the bough or branch is more likely to be the precursor of the mat on which *sat* the man on the look-out. The part of the boat on which the man on the look-out sat was called *nefru* , and this

[1] M. de Morgan adds:—"et que les rames sont seulement les traits qui, placés obliquement à l'une des extrémités du bateau, sont munis d'un élargissement figurant la palette." (*Op. cit.*, p. 91.)

[2] But compare J. de Morgan (*op. cit.*, p. 92). "Les joncs ou les roseaux étaient placés dans le sens de l'axe de l'embarcation; aux deux extrémités les divers éléments étaient reliés entre eux par un fort noeud, tandis que des liens très rapprochés les uns des autres traversaient la coque tout entière normalement à son axe en reliant entre elles toutes les tiges. Le bateau ainsi construit était formé d'une véritable natte qui n'eût pas été suffisante si l'epaisseur des nattes n'eût été triplée ou quadruplée, si des armatures de bois n'étaient venues maintenir l'ensemble rigide et si un enduit n'avait été appliqué pour rendre l'embarcation imperméable."

[3] Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

is the name which is given to the look-out place in the boat of the Sun-god Rā; in the Papyrus of Ani, plate 19, the god Harpocrates is seen sitting on the mat which is stretched over the look-out place in the bark of Rā as it sails over the sky, and sometimes the place where the god usually sits is occupied by a bird. The object, however, of the bough or mat seems to have been to supply to all beholders information concerning the tribe and family of the occupant of the boat. The short mast which was attached to the aft cabin was probably used for displaying a flag or symbol which either referred to the country or city of the master of the boat, or declared his rank; the following examples of such symbols or

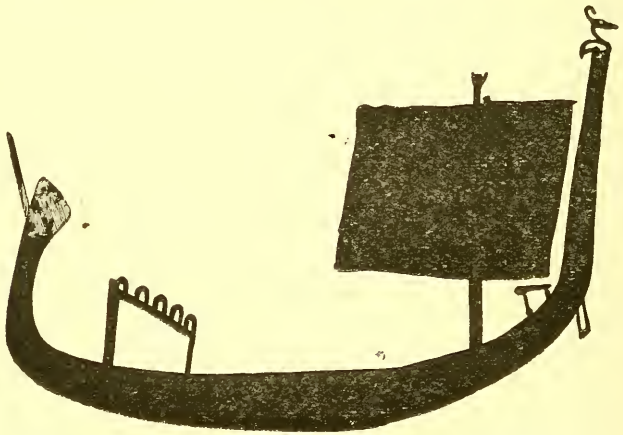


Standards from representations of boats, painted on vases of the Predynastic Period.

flags are reproduced from the work of M. de Morgan, who has borrowed most of them from the drawings of boats given in *Naqada and Ballas*. Thus we have the standard of the man from the region of two, three, four, or five hills (Nos. 1-4); and the standard of the men

who adopted horns (No. 5), and two arrows as their emblems (Nos. 6, 7), and the standard of the fish (No. 8), but most interesting of all is the flag or symbol of the man who adopted as his emblem the elephant (No. 9)! It is more than probable that these and other symbols which were affixed to the short masts in boats subsequently became the emblems of the nomes in Upper and Lower Egypt, and the nome-standards, which are so often seen depicted in the great temples of the historical Egyptians, appear to be little else than direct copies; in any case the symbols are of indigenous or North African origin, and each must be the emblem of an important division of the country, which represented the territory of a great tribe, and which under the conquerors from the East became a nome, though in historic times the personal element was eliminated from it. But as the predynastic Egyptian found a tree trunk propelled by his own hands and feet an unsatisfactory means of crossing or travelling up and down the river, so he must also have found that boats made of reeds and rushes were both unsuitable and dangerous for the purpose of fishing or fowling in the thickets of marshes, which were crowded with crocodiles, or other huge amphibious beasts, and as a result he must have set to work to build stronger craft. It cannot be said at present how far he advanced in the art of boat building, or whether he ever succeeded in building a boat which a crocodile could not crush with his

jaws, or which a hippopotamus could not easily reduce to splinters; but the probability is that his boats were always more or less fragile, and that they were most frequently of very light draught, and that they had no decks of any sort or kind. The natural assumption is that in going up stream their motive power was the wind, but in none of the examples of painted predynastic pottery which have been published



Boat with sail. From a vase of the Predynastic Period in the British Museum. (No. 35,324)

has the representation of any sail been discovered. Early in 1901, however, the Trustees of the British Museum purchased a large predynastic jar on which is an excellent representation of a boat, the shape of which is familiar to us from pictures of boats which were drawn in dynastic times. At one end of it is set a mast, whereon is a large rectangular sail, and close by the mast is a seat; at the same end of the boat is what appears to be a steering oar. At the other end is a

kind of cabin with a slanting roof, but the stern of the boat in the painting is damaged, and the details of it cannot be clearly made out. Round and about the boat are masses of wavy lines which are clearly conventional pictures of water; the other paintings on the vase depict a large bird in the act of pecking at a wriggling worm, and four scorpions on a line which seems to be intended to represent the ground. The vase is large and well made, and in respect of material, colour, etc., closely resembles other earthenware vessels of its class and period.

We have seen that the predynastic Egyptians must have been great hunters, and it is clear from what has been said above that water-fowl and fish must have formed a considerable portion of their food supply, but we have also to consider whether they raised crops of cereals, and whether they had succeeded in domesticating animals which would provide them with meat when game was scarce. M. de Morgan was first of all of opinion that they were agriculturists, and he based his opinion upon the fact that he had found in his excavations of predynastic sites a number of saw-like flints which he thought had been fastened in sickles, but subsequently he noticed that he had never found objects of the kind on any of the sites which contained nothing but remains of the predynastic period, and he therefore doubted the correctness of the opinion which he had formed, and which he had published in his work, *L'Âge de la Pierre et les Métaux*, in 1896.

Subsequently the eminent botanist, Professor Schweinfurth, pointed out to him that wheat and barley were in their natural home in Mesopotamia, where they actually grew wild, and the obvious deduction to be made from this was that if wheat and barley existed in Egypt in predynastic times they must have been brought there from that country by the conquerors of the indigenous peoples. To decide the question M. de Morgan made further very careful researches with the view of ascertaining whether wheat and the remains of agricultural tools were ever found together in the same grave, and he found that they were not; until further trustworthy excavations prove to the contrary, we must therefore assume that the cultivation of wheat and barley was introduced into Egypt by the early invaders of the country, and if this be so, the fact forms another proof in favour of the Asiatic origin of the new comers. In most countries, certainly in those which have a winter season, the absence of cereals would make it impossible to keep flocks and herds, but this was not necessarily the case in Egypt, where they have no winter in the western sense of the word; the only period of the year when the predynastic Egyptian would find any difficulty in feeding his domestic animals would be at the time of the inundation, but then he would, as his modern representative does to-day, fall back upon the branches of trees for food for his cattle.

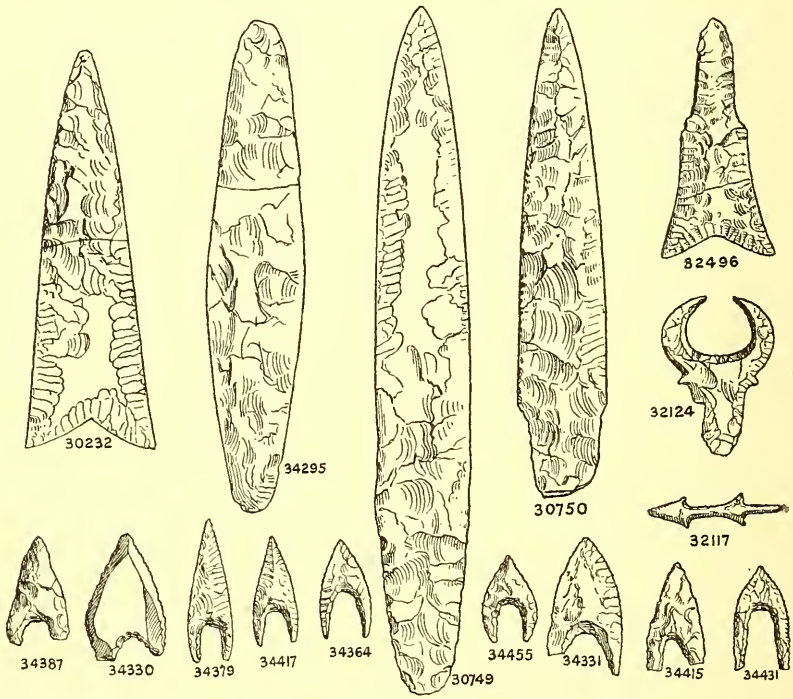
It has been often stated that the greater number

of the domestic animals which are depicted upon the tombs of the IVth and Vth Dynasties are of Asiatic origin; this may be so, but it is probable that there is a strong strain of the indigenous cattle in them, for it has yet to be proved that the offspring of foreign cattle either did or will thrive and increase in Egypt, except they be crossed with native breeds. But it is a suggestive fact, however, when viewed in connection with the Asiatic origin of cattle in ancient Egypt, that the god Osiris is called the "Bull of Amentet,"[1] and that the cow-goddess Hathor (see the flint cow's head, No. 32,124, page 84) was brought into Egypt by the invaders; these facts show that to the men who wrote at least some of the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* the bull was the strongest and best animal known to them, and the one best suited to be the type of their god. The antelope, and gazelle, and goat, and all the animals of that class lived with the predynastic Egyptians in a more or less domestic state, and the paintings on pottery prove that they were well acquainted with them; on the other hand, the sheep, which forms such an important possession in Asia, was unknown to them. Even in the period of the Early Empire it was the "milk calf," i.e., the sucking calf, and not the lamb, which was the symbol of innocence and helplessness. The ram which represents the god Khnemu may have belonged to an indigenous

[1] See *Book of the Dead*, chap. I. 4; LXIIIA. 2; CLXXXII. 12, 17.

species which seems to have become extinct after the period of the XIIth Dynasty.

When the indigenous Egyptian was not hunting or at war he probably spent much time in making his flint weapons and tools, notwithstanding the

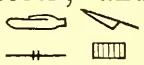


Flint arrow and spear heads, and flint cow's head (No. 32,124), emblem of the goddess Hathor, in the British Museum. Predynastic Period.

fact that each tribe must have possessed its own skilled flint workers; for the most beautiful of the examples which have come down to us could only have been made by men who had devoted their lives to the art of working in flint. The art began



Flint implements of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Periods from Egypt, in the British Museum.

at a very remote period,[1] and it became more and more prosperous until man discovered how to work metal; the use of flint tools and knives did not at once disappear, as might be expected, but survived for a lengthy period, though chiefly in connection with religious and ceremonial customs.[2] In the hieroglyphic inscriptions the use of flint was commemorated long after metal tools and weapons were generally used in Egypt; thus in the hieroglyphic for sickle  the projections represent flint teeth, and in one of the ordinary words for knife, *ṭes* , we see that the last sign is the determinative for stone, a fact which takes us back to the time when knives were usually made of stone, i.e., flint or chert. It is generally agreed that all the flint weapons, etc., which have up to the present been found in predynastic graves, belong to the *Neolithic* Period, but a number of others, which have been attributed to the *Palaeolithic* Period, have also been brought from Egypt; the latter were found on the surface of the ground on plateaux lying at a height considerably above the level of the Nile, and not in workshops or near mines. They have formed the subjects of minute discussion and description, and such eminent authorities as Sir John Evans, K.C.B., and M. de Morgan have no hesitation in assigning them to the

[1] "L'usage de tailler la pierre remonte en Égypte aux temps quaternaires;" J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[2] See especially Sir John Evans, *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, 2nd edit., 1897, p. 9; and E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 1865, p. 191 ff.

Palaeolithic Period; but, on the other hand, Dr. Forbes has come to the conclusion that "none of the surface "'palaeolithic' implements from Egypt and Somaliland "have yet been clearly proved to belong to that period, "while the probability is that the bulk of them are of "much later date," and he thinks that "they probably "belong to the XIIth Dynasty, going back perhaps, but "not probably, to the VIth Dynasty."[1] But the late General Pitt-Rivers "discovered in 1881[2] some flakes "of palaeolithic type, *in situ*, in gravel near the Valley of "the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, at a comparatively "low level, which," as Dr. Forbes admits, "all geolo- "gists who know the spot agree, must have been "deposited far back in prehistoric times." The evidence of a Palaeolithic Age in Egypt, the existence of which appears to Sir John Evans to be in the highest degree probable,[3] may rest on the flakes and very rude scraper-like flints found in the Bâb al-Mulûk gravels, but until it has been proved that General Pitt-Rivers was mistaken, the apparently supplementary evidence may not be lightly thrust aside. It may, how-

[1] *On a Collection of Stone Implements in the Mayer Museum* (Bull. Liverp. Mus. II., Nos. 3 and 4, January 20th, 1900).

[2] See *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xi., p. 382, 1882 (Discovery of Chert Implements).

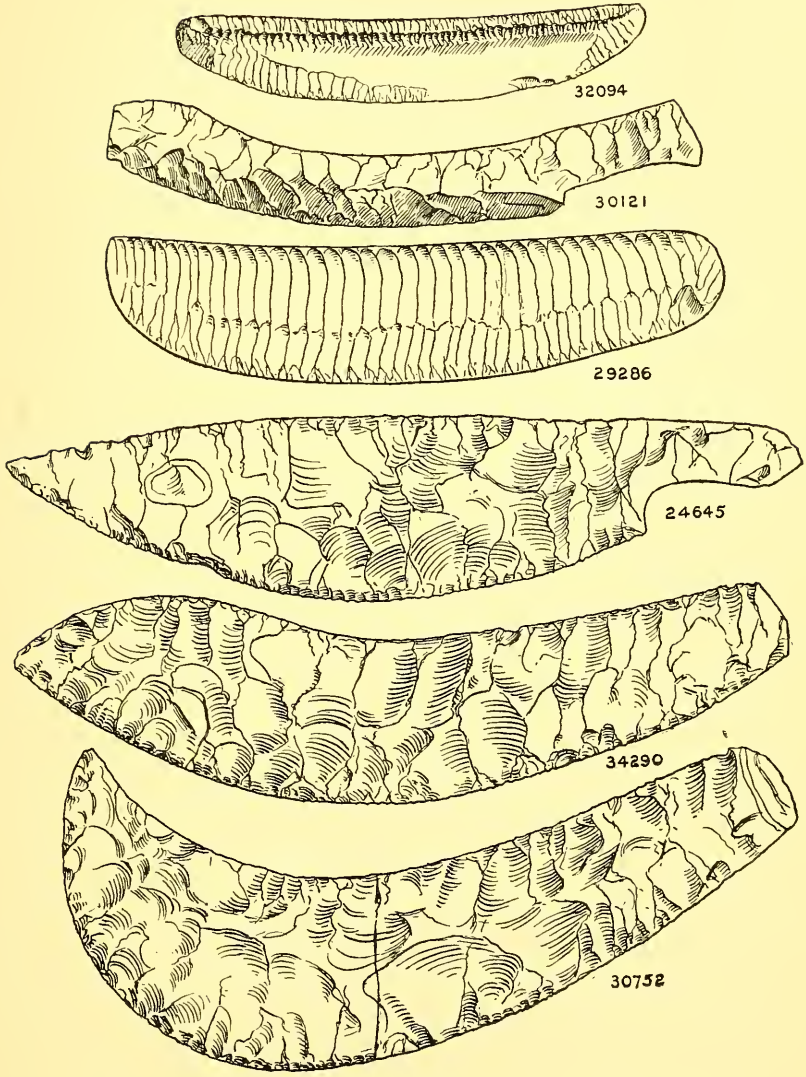
[3] *The Antiquity of Man*, an Address delivered in the Town Hall, Birmingham, October 25th, 1899, p. 13. This pamphlet contains an interesting *résumé* of the recent discoveries in Egypt, and, as M. Boule remarks (*L'Anthropologie*, vol. xi., 1900, p. 274), "est écrit avec cette facilité et cette humeur qu'ont pu apprécier toutes les personnes qui ont été en relations avec l'éminent archéologue anglais."

ever, be mentioned in passing that so high an authority as Canon W. Greenwell, F.R.S., has no doubt whatsoever about the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in Egypt, and the researches which Professor Sayce has made in Egypt, and the positions of the palaeolithic flints which he has found *in situ* confirm this opinion. In any case the question is one which only geologists can usefully discuss, and the Egyptian archaeologist must wait until they arrive at a decision on the matter.

An examination of the flint weapons, tools, and implements of the neolithic period figured by M. de Morgan[1] and Professor Petrie,[2] shows that they include a number of forms and represent several methods of workmanship which are quite unknown in any country in the same age. Similarly, many forms which exist among the flint implements of other countries of the neolithic age have no equivalent among those of predynastic Egypt, and, according to M. de Morgan, the personal effects of the men who lived in the Nile Valley present certain well-defined peculiarities which seem to prove that the civilization of the Stone Age in Egypt suffered but very little from foreign influences, and that the indigenous peoples of that country were as little affected by such things as were their followers in dynastic times.

In spite of the fact that most of the tools of the predynastic Egyptians were made of flint, it seems as if they possessed the knowledge of working in stone,

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 103–116. [2] *Naqada and Ballas*, Plate 71 ff.



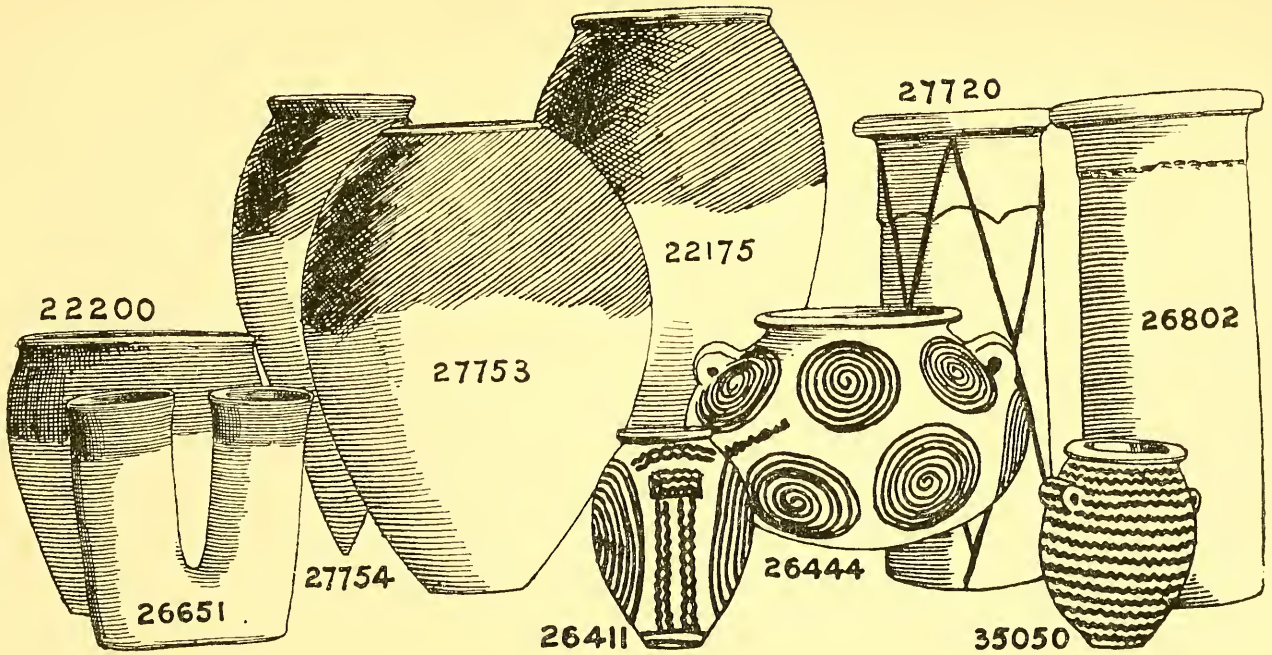
Flint implements of the Predynastic Period in the British Museum.

for many stone vases, rudely shaped and poorly worked, it is true, have been found in their graves. The custom of depositing stone vases filled with offerings of all kinds was common in Egypt in every period, and it is certain that it originated among people whose object was not to offer vases and vessels but offerings whereon those who were buried were supposed to live, after they had entered upon their new life, until such time as they were able to provide for themselves in the world beyond the grave. The dynastic Egyptians adopted the custom, and, having metal tools at their command, they succeeded in producing vases of most delicate and beautiful forms out of very hard stones, such as diorite and haematite and the like; a true idea of the variety of forms and of the excellence of the workmanship can only be obtained by examining a number of the best examples, a fine series of which will be found in the National Collection. The attempts of the earlier people to make figures in relief or otherwise were failures, but it is nearly certain that when they had been taught to use metal tools by their conquerors they became extremely useful workmen. Their want of success in working in stone was, however, counterbalanced by their skill in making objects of bone and ivory, as we may see from the numerous pendants, and combs, and figures of men and women, which have come down to us. An excellent example of their skill in working ivory is quoted by M. de Morgan,[1] who

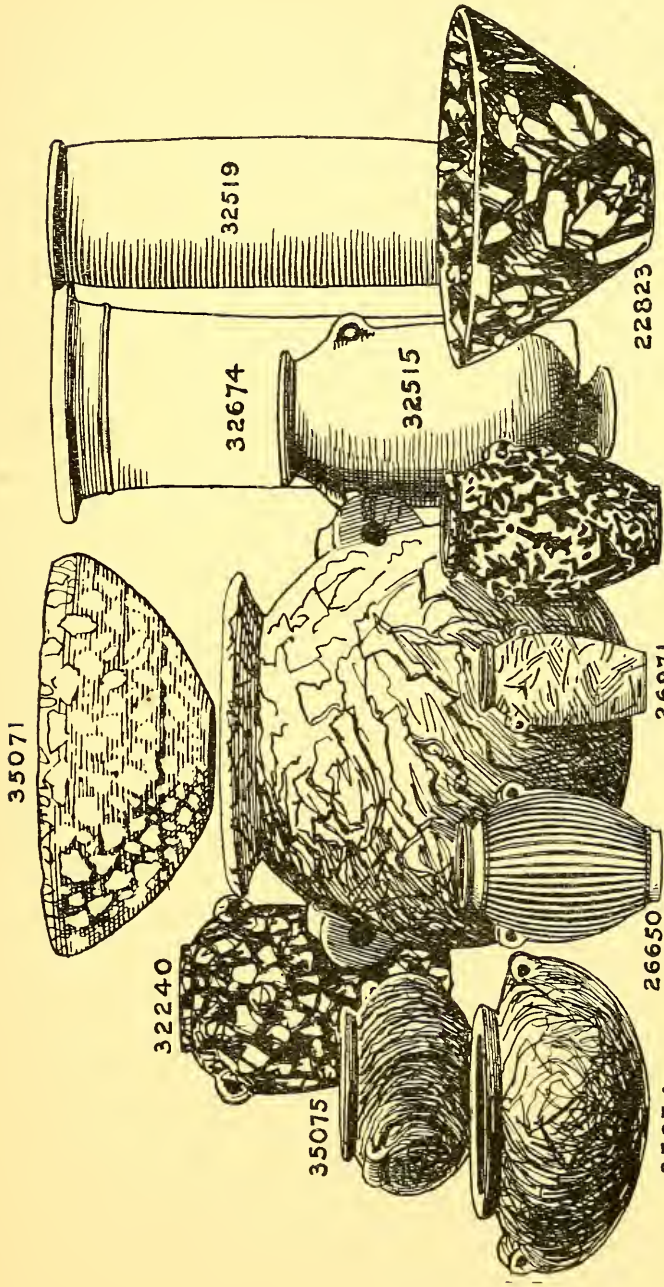
[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 71 and 118.

describes the head of a mace found at Silsila; this interesting object is made out of the tusk of a hippopotamus, and having been sawn into shape at each end had a hole drilled through it in the middle. The ends show the saw marks quite clearly, and from their irregularity M. de Morgan assumes that the task of sawing was long and tedious; on the other hand, the hole by which it was fitted on to its handle was drilled with great regularity, and this was no doubt done by means of the drill used for making hollows in vases.

The pottery of the predynastic Egyptians was made without the help of the potter's wheel, of which they had no knowledge, and the materials employed by them were Nile mud and clay; the latter, no doubt, was taken from special quarries, such as those at Aswân and Ḳena, which were much worked by the dynastic Egyptians; fortunately a very large number of examples of their earthenware vessels have survived, and these proclaim that they were highly skilled in the potter's art. Pottery made from the Nile mud became of a yellowish or reddish colour when baked, and that made of clay became a bright red; brown and black vessels were made from paste with which colouring matter, such as bi-oxide of manganese, had been mixed. The most interesting of all the classes of predynastic pottery are, of course, those which are ornamented with incised designs, linear and otherwise, and paintings, and those which are bi-coloured, red and black. The paste of which the red



Group of vases of the Predynastic Period in the British Museum. Nos, 22200, 22175, 26651, 27753, 27754, red and black ware; 26411, 26444, 27720, and 35050, red on buff; 26802, plain buff.

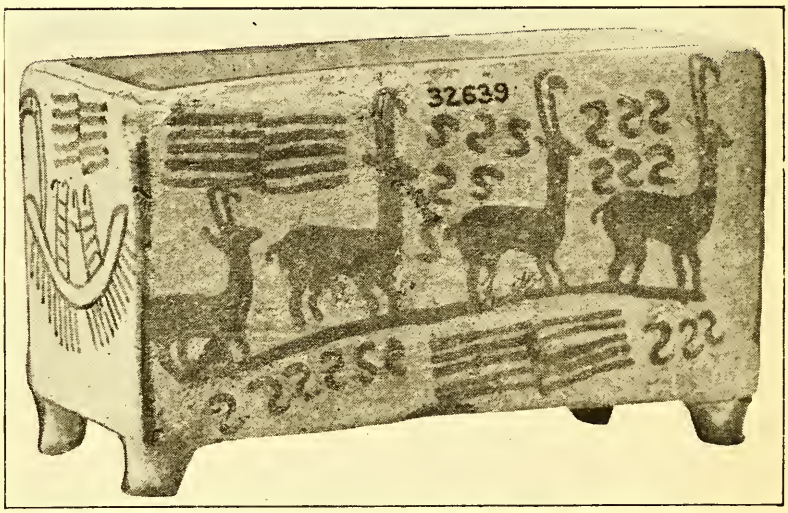


Variegated stone vases of the Predynastic and Archaic Periods in the British Museum.

and black pottery is made is fine and porous, and was well kneaded before being worked into shape; the surface is highly polished, the polishing being done by flint polishers. The upper parts of the outsides of the vessels of this class, and all the insides, are black, while some of them have black outside lower parts only, but the black is due neither to smoke nor to the employment of a second kind of paste by the potter.[1] Red and black pottery, like that wholly red, is frequently ornamented with designs in white, wherein geometric ornament, figures of men, animals, etc., are represented. Certainly of later period than these are all the classes of painted pottery in which the paste is fine, hard, and smooth, and of a yellowish colour, while the designs upon it, though resembling in some respects those which are in white on the pottery of an earlier period, are painted in red; such paintings represent wavy lines, spirals, branches of trees, lizards, oryxes,

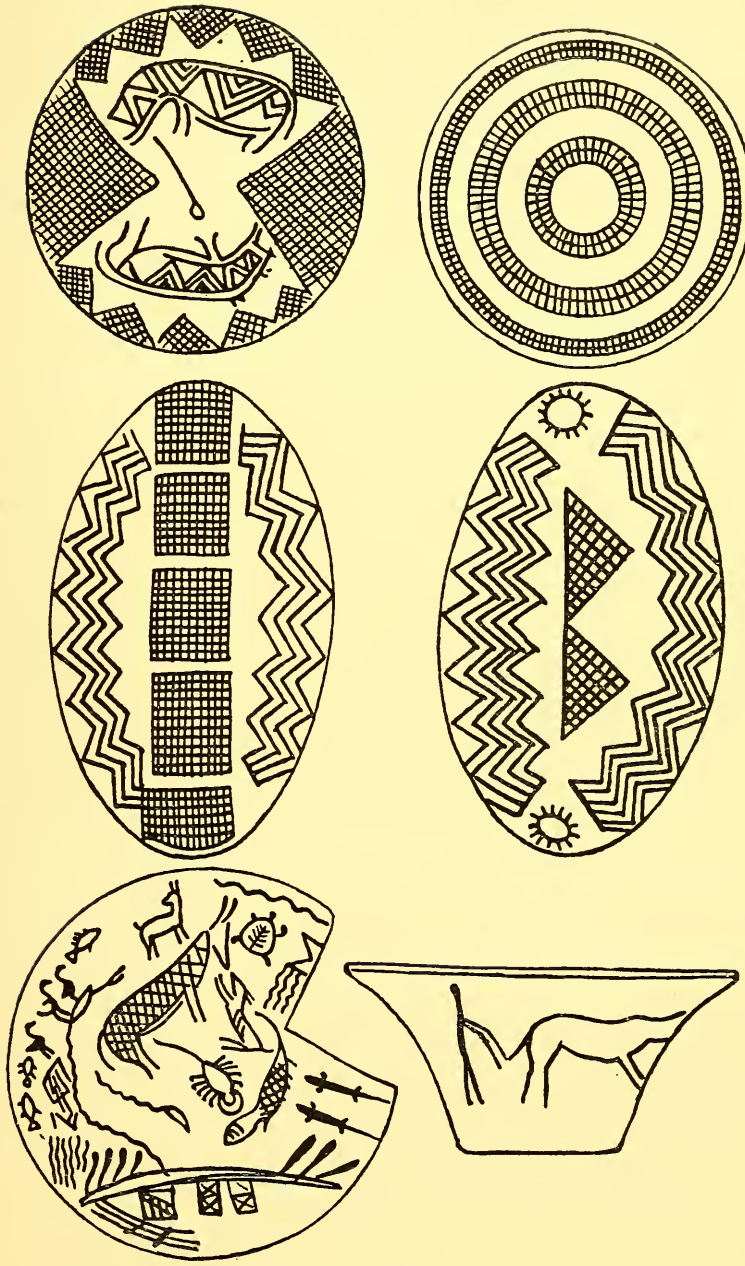
[1] Professor Petrie's explanation is as follows :—"The difference of the black-topped pottery consists in the baking. The red-polished was put in the upper part of the kiln, where it was exposed to air all round, and the red oxide of iron was preserved. The lower stratum of vases was, however, partly buried in ashes, and so far as the charcoal covered them, it deoxidized the iron from red peroxide to black magnetic oxide. All the vases were stacked mouth down in the kiln, the black part is around the mouth, or in the inner side of the large bowls. . . . It is precisely the same question of colour and composition as on Greek vases, where the black may become red wherever a draught of air has impinged upon it; and the black and red may be changed from one to the other any number of times by regulating the air supply." *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 36.

ostriches, boats, etc. This large group of pottery belongs, no doubt, to the end of the predynastic period, and it is most probable that the practice of making such in Egypt continued after the advent of the conquerors in that country. Extended research must result in a more exact system of classification of predynastic pottery, and, when further excavations of the



Earthenware box of the Predynastic Period; ibexes, boat, water, etc., painted red on a buff ground.

cemeteries of the indigenous peoples in many other parts of Egypt have been made, it may be reasonably hoped that some chronological arrangements in groupings will be possible; but at present much of the dating is the result of the "scientific imagination," or guesswork. During the early dynastic times pieces of pottery, which in shape and design recall some of the



Designs on vessels of the Predynastic Period. (After J. de Morgan).

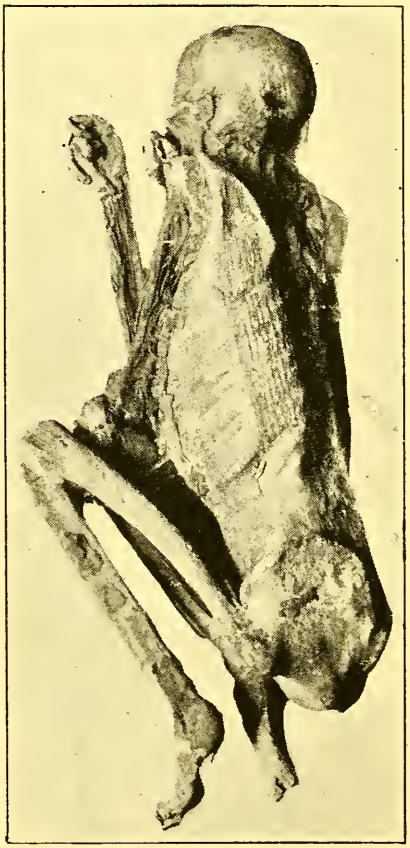
best examples of indigenous work, appear in the tombs, but speaking generally, at no time did the Egyptians of history succeed in surpassing their less cultured predecessors in the potter's art. The paintings with which the latter decorated their pottery have all the characteristics of being the production of a people who had made some progress in drawing, but their designs are heavy, and they are executed in an almost childish manner, and the artists of that time had no knowledge of perspective. With the advent of the conquerors the potter's art began to languish, and long before the end of the rule of the kings of the Early Empire it had well-nigh ceased to exist, at least as far as its connection with funeral rites was concerned.

From the above paragraphs on the predynastic Egyptians it will be seen that they were an indigenous, North African people, who lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, and who possessed many of the habits and manners and customs of tribes of men who live in the valleys, through which flow great rivers, or on plains, the soil of which has been brought down from higher lands by floods caused either by rains or the melting of the snow on the mountain ranges situated on them. They were great workers in flint, and their skill in fashioning this material into weapons, tools, and implements of all kinds is truly marvellous; they also possessed great skill in pottery making, which is the more to be admired because the potter's wheel was unknown to them. They built no houses, or at least

if they did no remains of them have been found, though they probably made habitations of reeds daubed with mud, or rude shelters, the sides of which were formed of mud, which, however, was not made into bricks, for of the brickmaker's art they were ignorant. They were not cannibals, and their cemeteries seem to indicate that they were not a warlike race; of their position in the scale of civilization and development we can only judge by their attempts at sculpture and design, which it is easy to show were not of a high order. But notwithstanding these facts they succeeded in influencing their conquerors in many ways, and a number of the peculiarities which are made known to us by the inscriptions and other remains of the latter people originated among them. The conquerors and the conquered appear to have been totally distinct people, both physically and mentally, and as a natural result there was a distinct difference in their habits, and manners, and customs, and capabilities; this difference cannot be better illustrated than by a few remarks on their burial customs.

The earliest graves in the Nile Valley consisted of shallow hollows dug in the sandy, shingly ground which lies on the edge of the mud deposit and stretches away to the mountains on each side of the river; such hollows, though usually round, were extremely irregular in shape, and the object of the relatives of the dead seems to have been to get the body laid away in the ground with as little trouble and loss of time as

possible. The graves were made close together, in fact they were sometimes so close that a body lay partly in one hollow and partly in another; whether at the period when such graves were made it was customary to delimit them or not cannot be said, but in any case, if partitions or dividing walls ever existed, they have since disappeared. The body was put on the bare ground in the grave, lying on its left side, with the head usually towards the south, and the knees were bent up on a level with the top of the breast, and the hands placed before the face; round about the body were placed vessels of rude shapes, made of coarse earthenware, wherein funeral offerings were laid, and many graves contain flint weapons and implements. Some bodies were wrapped in the skins of gazelle fastened together by thongs of the same material, and others



A predynastic mummy in the British Museum. When found the deceased was lying on his left side.

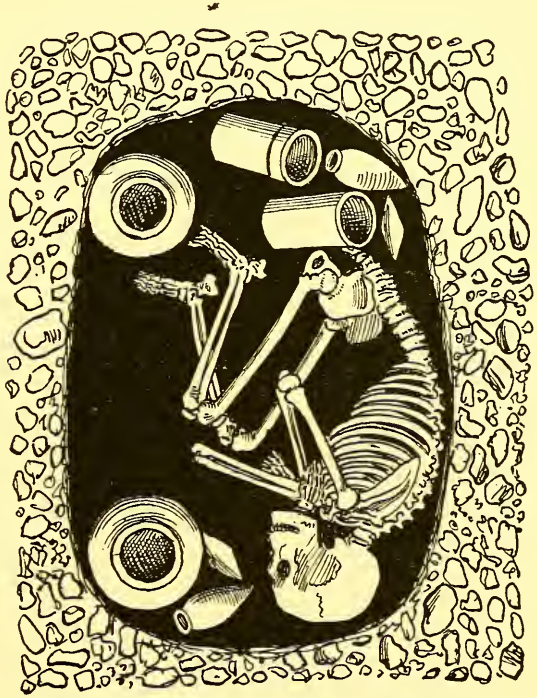
were both wrapped in and laid upon mats made of reeds or rushes. No attempt was made to mummify the body in the usual sense of the word, and there is no evidence to show that efforts were made to preserve it from natural decay; at this period the custom of burning the body, wholly or partly, had



Predynastic grave at Al-'Amrah, near Abydos. The deceased lying on his left side, and surrounded by his vases, flint weapons, etc. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

not been introduced. In some graves of the period, but these of course belong to the latter part of it, pottery of a better class is found, with worked flints and pendants made of bone and ivory, etc., and in a very few cases metal objects are found. Such graves had no superstructures, and their position in the

ground was probably marked by some simple method, such as covering them with stones or pebbles, or by sticks placed upright in the ground, as is the case among the tribes of North Africa and the Sûdân to the present day.



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil near Abydos. In graves of this class metal objects are found. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

In the second class of predynastic graves excavated by M. de Morgan, the body having been burnt, wholly or partly, the remains were thrown carelessly into a shallow hollow in the ground; in cases where the body was completely burnt, the bones lie scattered about in

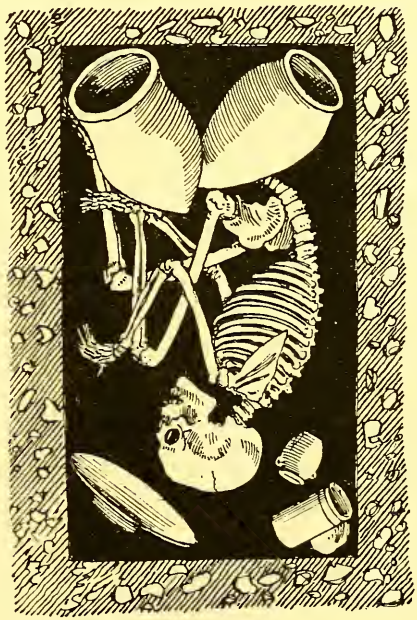
the grave in great disorder, but when it was only partly burnt, care was taken to keep the bones of the hands and the feet together, and to set the head, which was usually severed from the body, by itself, either upon the ground or upon a stone. In many graves the body is found to have been dismembered, and its various



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil. The bones, having been stripped of their flesh, were thrown into the grave. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

limbs are disposed in such a way as to occupy the least possible space; and some graves of the earlier period have been found to contain remains of bodies which had been dismembered. The remains of bodies which had been burnt were often laid in rectangular earthenware

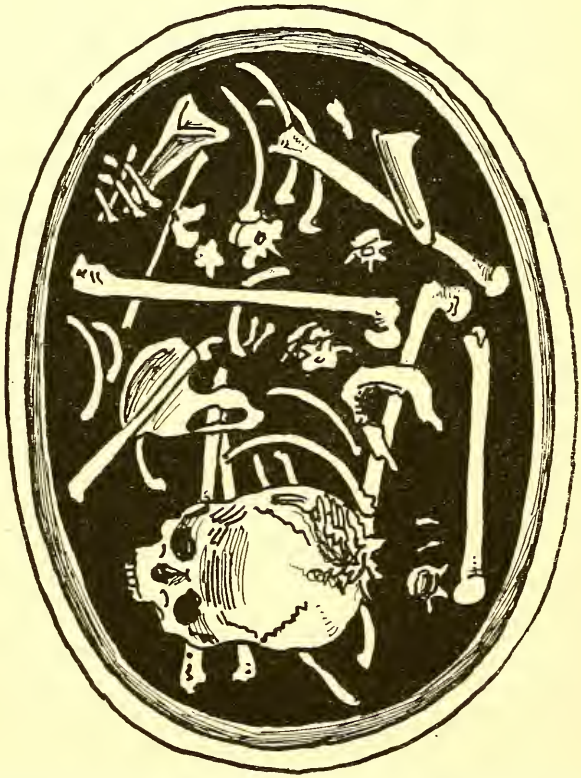
chests or boxes which were provided with covers, but, as in the case of those buried in graves, the bones were scattered about in great disorder; the objects which are found with such remains show that this custom belongs to the end of the predynastic period. About this time also bodies, though bent up in the



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil, near Abydos. The deceased lying on his left side in a grave lined with bricks. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

position in which the dead were bent in the earliest predynastic graves, were buried on their backs under constructions of earthenware which resemble large bowls inverted. Thus we see that the funeral customs of the indigenous Egyptians were quite different from

those of the Egyptians of dynastic times, and that the graves of the earlier people are entirely different, both as regards form and position, from those of the later. Moreover, the main divisions of the tombs of the



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil. The body was dismembered, and the flesh having been stripped off, the bones were thrown into the grave. (Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

dynastic Egyptians, i.e., the mummy-chamber, the shaft or corridor, and the chapel or hall for offerings, represent funeral customs and beliefs which were unknown to their semi-barbarous ancestors. It is possible

to assert that the tombs of the kings and noblemen who lived during the period of the first four dynasties are developments of the brick graves, with their recesses and "pits," which were in use in late predynastic times, but the slight similarities observed are, most probably, more the result of accident than design.



Predynastic grave at Kawâmil. The deceased lies on his back, and the flesh has been stripped from his bones.
(Drawn by Mr. Anderson after M. J. de Morgan).

Of the religious beliefs and views of the predynastic Egyptians but little can be said, but it is self-evident that the living would never have made funeral offerings to the dead unless they had believed that they would

live again in some form or other, and judging from the flint weapons and implements found in their graves, we are no doubt right in assuming that the life which they thought their dead would inherit after death would be lived under conditions which resembled those under which they had lived upon earth. Whether they had formulated any ideas in the earliest period as to the existence of a divine power cannot be said, but there is good reason for thinking that they had, and also that such ideas were not on the level with those which we are accustomed to find among peoples who are barbarous or semi-savage.

CHAPTER II.

Egyptian Chronology.

A brief consideration of the descriptions of predynastic objects given in the preceding pages, and of the deductions which may be fairly made from them, will convince the reader that it is impossible to formulate any system of predynastic chronology, or even to assign any dates to the objects themselves, which shall be other than approximately correct. The antiquities referred to fall into two great classes, namely, those which are declared to be Palaeolithic and those which we may rightly assume to be Neolithic. The remains declared to be palaeolithic consist of flint implements, i.e., borers and the like, which have been found on high plateaux in the Nile Valley, and flakes of flint which General Pitt-Rivers discovered *in situ* in the gravel stratum at the mouth of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The great antiquity of the flint borers, etc., has been doubted, and they have been declared to belong to the period of the VIth or XIIth Dynasty,[1] but the archaeologist will have

[1] See above, p. 87.

considerable difficulty in believing that in the time of the XIIth Dynasty, when the Egyptians were well acquainted with the art of working in metal, and when they possessed beautifully worked and finely-shaped flint knives for ceremonial purposes, there were people living on or near the plateaux close to their towns who were using in daily life flint borers and axe-heads of the types which are the result in other countries of man's earliest attempts to work flint, and which represent his first step on the ladder of civilization. In the matter of the flakes of flint which General Pitt-Rivers found *in situ* at Thebes there can be no reasonable ground for doubt as to their very great antiquity, for the knowledge and experience in such matters possessed by this eminent man were so great that his views must be accepted. Add to this the opinion of Sir John Evans on the extreme probability of the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in Egypt, and that of M. J. de Morgan, both of whom base their statements upon personal observation of Egypt and the remains of her ancient peoples, and the case for the extreme antiquity of the flints declared by them to be Palaeolithic is complete. The neolithic remains are of a much more varied character, and they reveal to us man under conditions which must be quite different from those under which he lived in the Palaeolithic Period. But although the remains of neolithic man in Egypt are so many and of such various kinds, we cannot group them chronologically, except in the vaguest

manner, and when the objects found in the graves of the predynastic period have been divided into two classes, which may be labelled "Early Neolithic" and "Late Neolithic" respectively, the present limit of chronological knowledge of the period has been reached. To attempt to gauge the antiquity of such things according to any chronological theory or system is useless. When, however, we arrive at dynastic times we are on firmer ground, for the Egyptians themselves have provided us with data which will enable us to arrive at a good *general* idea of the period of the duration of their civilization, and with lists of kings which at least show what opinions on the subject of their order and succession were held by those who drew them up. When the information afforded by such lists can be supplemented and corrected by facts supplied by the monuments, either directly or indirectly, it is of the greatest value, but where we have only the statements of the lists to rely upon, some caution in arriving at a decision must be exercised, for experience has proved that the lists are not infallible. And it must be distinctly understood that, until we have more evidence of a definite character on the general facts of Egyptian history, and more accurate means for finding the date of the starting point of Egyptian civilization, we shall have to be content with a system of chronology which contains several gaps, and a series of minimum dates for the greater number of the reigns of the kings, and for the beginning of which an exact

date cannot be assigned. The data required for formulating an accurate system of Egyptian chronology are these:—1. A complete list of kings; 2. The true order of their succession; 3. A list of the lengths of the reigns of the kings. We have, it is true, lists of kings who ruled during the earlier part of the period of Egyptian history, but we have no definite statements in them either as to the order in which one king succeeded the other, or as to the length of each king's reign, or when the king whose name stands first in the lists began to reign; we have also lists of Egyptian kings written in Greek which are divided into dynasties, and which profess to give the number of the years of the reign of each king, and also the number of the years which each dynasty lasted; but these, like the old Egyptian lists, are not infallible, as we shall see. Now let us consider what value such lists have in helping us to establish an accurate system of chronology, and how far they may be trusted.

The most complete native list of kings known to us is contained in the famous ROYAL PAPYRUS OF TURIN,[1] which, as the name given to it indicates, is preserved at Turin. It originally formed part of the collection made in Egypt by M. Drovetti, the French Consul-General in that country, which was offered for purchase to the French Government in 1818, but was declined,

[1] A copy of the hieratic text is given by Lepsius, *Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden*, Bll. 3–6; and see *Revue Archéologique*, vol. vii., Paris, 1850, plate 149.

and was afterwards acquired by the king of Sardinia;[1] subsequently it was sent, with other things, to Turin, but on its arrival in the Museum of that city it was found to be broken into scores of little pieces, which lay in a heap at the bottom of the box in which it had been packed. The document is written in the hieratic character. The nature of its contents was first recognized by Champollion le Jeune, who, in the *Bulletin Universel* (Nov., 1824), described it as a "*tableau chronologique*, un vrai *canon royal*," and in spite of "l'état presque complet de destruction" of the papyrus, he was able to collect between 160 and 180 royal prenomens; many were complete, and many were incomplete, and "un certain nombre *se suivent*." The condition of the papyrus was lamentable, and when Champollion had discovered of what priceless worth it would have been in a complete state, the sight of its "miseri frammenti" must have filled him with grief. In 1826 Seyffarth went to Turin, and undertook to join the fragments of the papyrus together, and he formed an uninterrupted series of successive reigns, which, although restored, appeared to be an absolutely complete Royal Canon; but his knowledge of the hieratic character, as facts prove, was of a most limited description, his system of Egyptian decipherment was faulty, and he seems to have relied chiefly upon the *forms* of the fragments for guidance in placing

[1] See Champollion-Figeac in *Rev. Arch.*, vol. vii., Paris, 1850, p. 398.

them in what, we must assume, he believed to be their correct positions. Thus he boldly reconstructed a roll of papyrus of twelve columns or pages, each column containing from twenty-six to thirty names of gods or kings. The worthlessness of Seyffarth's "restoration" was soon recognized, for Rosellini declined to publish the "restored" text of the Turin Papyrus in his great work, and stated plainly that he doubted if the fragments as placed by the learned German were in the same positions as they had been when the document was intact; and he had great difficulty in determining what guide and what authority had been followed by Seyffarth in his arrangement of them, because the fragments into which it had been broken were so small that they could not afford any great indication of the order in which they had been originally arranged.[1] Rosellini's opinion was shared

[1] "Ma non tacerò il dubbio che fin d' allora mi nacque, e che tuttora mi fa grande ostacolo, vale a dire, se l' ordine col quale questi frammenti sono stati incomposti, sia quel medesimo che esisteva nel manuscritto, quando era intero. È da sapersi, che quel prezioso papiro trovavasi ridotto in sì minuti pezzetti, da non poter dare grande indizio dell' ordine successivo in che erano primitivamente disposti. Per lo più un solo nome isolato leggevasi su ciascun frammento, e spesso un nome solo di più frammenti si componeva; e talora, nè raramente, scaturivano delle lacune necessariamente volute dalla deformità delle parti che volevansi ricongiungere. Resta pertanto ad esaminarsi, se la ricongiunzione delle rotture e la connessione dei caratteri, abbia potuto servire di guida, e conseguentamente abbia dato autorità a ristabilire i pezzi in quell' ordine, piuttosto chè in un altro. Lo che, in materia così importante, dovrebbe essere rigorosamente dimostrato, affinchè il

by the late Dr. Birch,[1] who declared that the "extreme "smallness of the fragments renders the mere mechanical "adaptation of the pieces very problematical," and that there is evidence that the restoration is erroneous in many places. More damaging still to Seyffarth's "restoration" was its very strong condemnation by M. de Rougé, who said, "le document, dans son "état actuel, est sophistiqué et cela avec une déplorable "habileté, quoique ce résultat ait été sans aucun doute, "bien loin des intentions de M. Seyffarth."[2] On account of a controversy between himself and Champollion-Figeac as to the arrangement of the names of certain kings in such a way as to lead the student to believe that they followed naturally after those of kings of the XIIth Dynasty, M. de Rougé visited Turin, and having examined that part of the papyrus with the help of a strong magnifying glass, he came to the conclusion that the pieces of papyrus which had been joined by Seyffarth did not join naturally, that they fitted badly,

manuscritto così ricomposto, acquistasse tutto quel prezzo inestimabile del quale potrebbe esser capace. Finchè ciò non si dimostri, avremo per quel papiro una serie di nomi di re, ma nessuna autorità potrà ottenere a ristabilir l' ordine delle successioni. Poichè quella piccola parte, ove i nome in tal modo succedonsi, che ben corrisponde all' ordine che ci è noto per altri monumenti, non vale ad acquistar fede a tutte le altre, nel ricomporre le quali, non si conosca qual guida e quale autorità fosse seguita dal dotto Tedesco." (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. i. pp. 147, 148.)

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. i. (Second Series), London, 1843, p. 204.

[2] *Revue Arch.*, vol. vii. p. 560.

and that the fibres of the papyrus itself did not match.[1] Besides this, it is clear, when the system of decipherment of hieroglyphics proposed by Seyffarth is taken into consideration, that he could not have guided himself in his "restoration" by the readings of the names, and finally there seems to be no doubt that in arranging the fragments of the papyrus he employed the information which Champollion le Jeune had published in 1824, and that he arbitrarily made the order of the kings in it to agree as far as possible with that given in the Greek lists attributed to Manetho. The above testimony is sufficient to show that beyond supplying the names of a number of kings, many of which do not occur elsewhere, the Royal Papyrus of Turin in its present state is of no use in our investigations, for it affords us no information as to the period of the beginning of Egyptian civilization, and it does not give us the order of the succession of the kings whose names it records; we cannot even make use of the fragments of it which are inscribed with numbers

[1] "Ces morceaux ainsi réunis sont encore suivis, dans l'arrangement Seyffarth, et sans aucune solution de continuité, par d'autres fragments qui se trouvaient ainsi nécessairement indiquer la tête de la XIII^e Dynastie. Ici l'examen auquel je me suis livré ne me permet pas d'hésiter, le rapprochement est mauvais, les fibres du papyrus se rencontrent mal, et je crois pouvoir affirmer que les noms derniers royaux du fragment marqué 72 dans le planche VII^e de M. Lepsius ne sont pas exactement à leur place. Ce document n'a donc à mes yeux aucune espèce de valeur, en ce qui concerne l'ordre respectif des deux familles des Amenemhè et des Sevekhotep (XII^e et XIII^e Dynastie)." *Revue Arch.*, p. 562.

and contain the lengths of the reigns of certain kings stated in months, years, and days, for it is uncertain to which names they apply. Dr. Birch calculated that the papyrus when complete contained the names of about three hundred and thirty kings, which, he declared, coincided with the three hundred and thirty kings mentioned by Herodotus.[1]

Of the greatest importance for the study of Egyptian chronology is the TABLET OF ABYDOS,[2] which was discovered by Dümichen in the Temple of Osiris at Abydos in 1864; a good idea of the general arrangement of the Tablet will be gathered from the following illustration. Here we see Seti I., accompanied by his son and successor Rameses II., addressing seventy-five of his predecessors, whose cartouches are arranged in chronological order before him; the list is ended by Seti's own name. The names on the list are as follows; the Roman numerals in brackets are added to indicate the dynasties to which the kings belong:—

[I.]

1. Menȧ.
2. Tetȧ.
3. Ȧteth.
4. Ȧta.
5. Ḥesepti.
6. Merbap.
7. Semsu (?).
8. Qebḥ.

[1] Bk. ii. § 100.

[2] The text was first published by Dümichen in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1864, p. 81 ff; another excellent copy will be found in Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. i. plate 43.

[II.]

9. Betchàu.
10. Ka-kau.
11. Ba-en-neter.
12. Uatch-nes.
13. Senṭà.

[III.]

14. Tchatchai.
15. Nebka.
16. Tchesersa.
17. Tetà.
18. Setches.
19. Rā-nefer-ka.

[IV.]

20. Seneferu.
21. Khufu.
22. Ṭeṭf-Ra.
23. Khāf-Rā.
24. Men-kau-Rā.
25. Shepseskaf.

[V.]

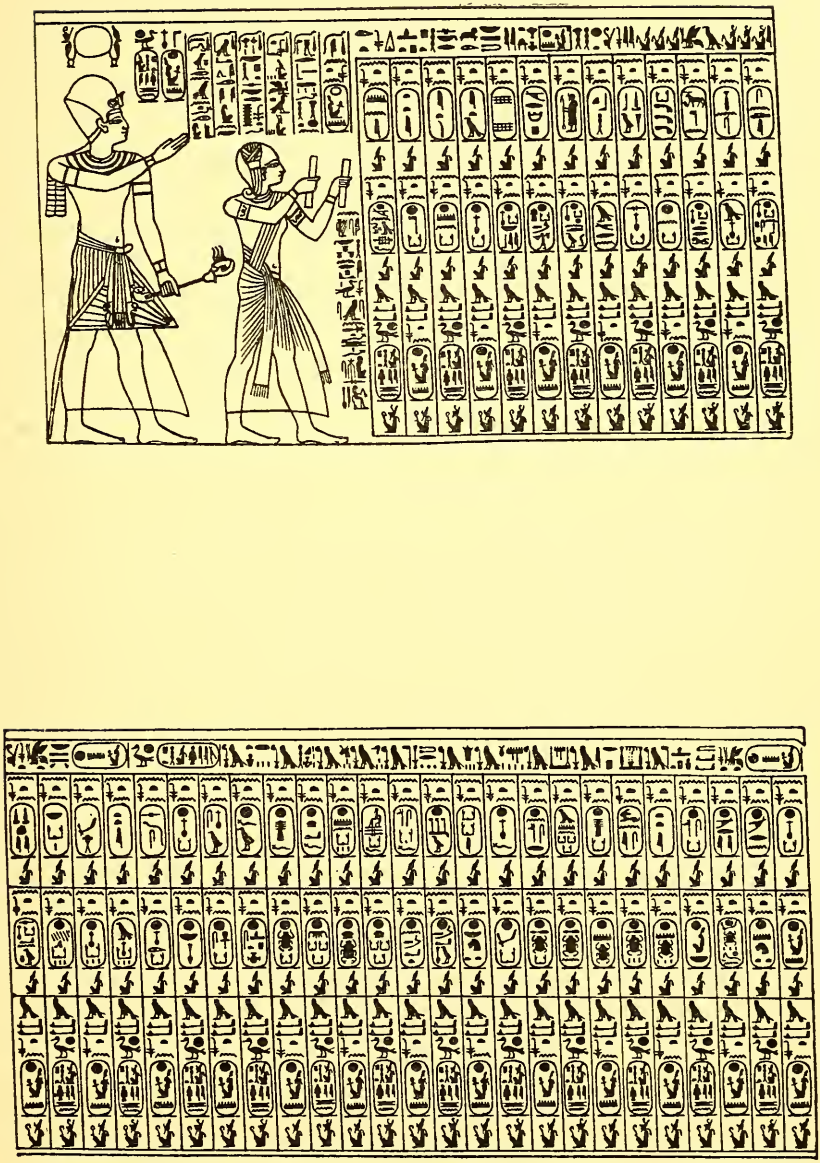
26. Userkaf.
27. Saḥu-Rā.
28. Kakaà.
29. Neferf-Rā.
30. Usr-en-Rā.
31. Men-kau-Ḥeru.
32. Ṭeṭka-Rā.
33. Unàs.

[VI.]

34. Tetà.
35. Userka-Rā.
36. Meri-Rā.
37. Mer-en-Rā.
38. Neferka-Rā.
39. Mer-en-Rā-sa-emsaf
40. Neterka-Rā.
41. Menka-Rā.

[VII.-X.]

42. Neferka-Rā.
43. Neferka-Rā-nebi.
44. Ṭeṭka-Rā-maā- . . .
45. Neferka-Rā-Khenṭu
46. Mer-en-Ḥeru.
47. Senefer-ka.
48. Ka-en-Rā.
49. Neferka-Rā-tererel.
50. Neferka-Ḥeru.
51. Neferka-Rā-pepi-senb.
52. Seneferka-ānnu.
53. kau-Rā.
54. Neferkau-Rā.



The Tablet of Abydos.

55. Neferkau-Ḥeru.
56. Neferka-ári-Rā.

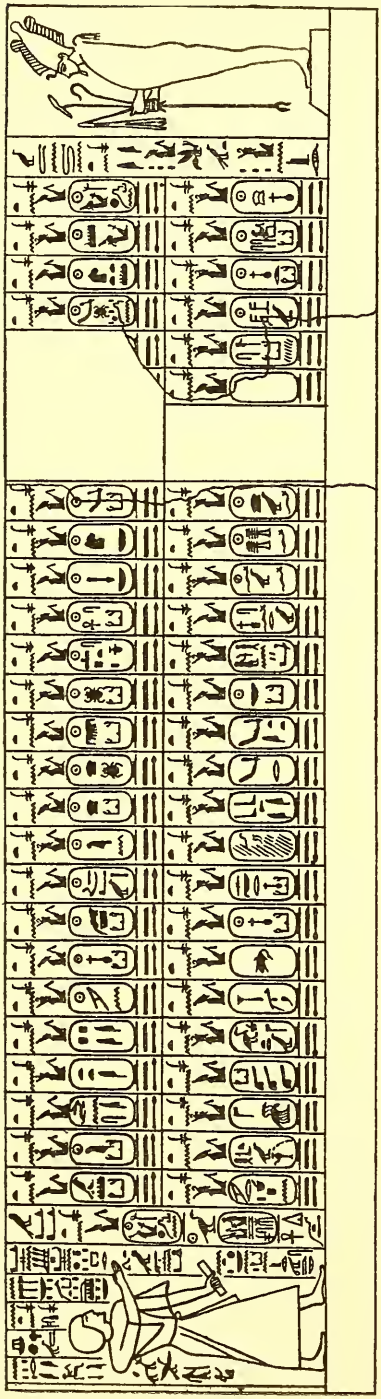
[XI.]
57. Neb-kheru-Rā.
58. Seānkhka-Rā.

[XII.]
59. Seḥetepāb-Rā.
60. Kheper-ka-Rā.
61. Nub-kau-Rā.
62. Kheper-khā-Rā.
63. Khā-kau-Rā.
64. Maāt-en-Rā.
65. Maā-kheru-Rā.

[XVIII.]
66. Neb-peḥtet-Rā.
67. Tcheser-ka-Rā.
68. Āa-kheper-ka-Rā.
69. Āa-kheper-en-Rā.
70. Men-kheper-Rā.
71. Āa-kheperu-Rā.
72. Men-kheperu-Rā.
73. Neb Maāt-Rā.
74. Tcheser-kheperu-Rā-setep-en-Rā.

[XIX.]
75. Men-peḥtet-Rā.
76. Men-Maāt-Rā.

A brief examination of this list shows that the scribe arranged in chronological order the names for which he had room in the space allotted to the list, and that he only made a *selection* from the names in the lists which, we may presume, he had before him, but what guided him in making this selection cannot be said. Some think that he wished to commemorate only such kings as were great and glorious according to the opinion prevalent in the XIXth Dynasty, and others that the names of legitimate kings only were given; but it is certain that the space at the disposal of the sculptor was limited, and that he commemorated



The Tablet of Saḳḳara. Found in the tomb of Thuunrei.

only a small number of names, which appear to have been chosen at random. From the Tablet of Abydos we learn the names of a comparatively large number of kings, and presumably the order in which they reigned, but it affords no information either about the lengths of their reigns or the number of years which their reigns together represent.

Of less importance, but still of considerable interest, is the TABLET OF ṢAḲḲÂRA, which dates from the time of Rameses II., and contains a list of forty-seven royal names drawn up, practically, in the same order as that employed in the

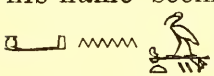
Tablets of Abydos.[1] It was found in the tomb of an overseer of works, who was also a "royal scribe" and a chief reader, called Thunurei , and the most remarkable fact about it is that the first name in the list is not that of Menà, but Mer-ba-pen, or Mer-pe-ba, whose name is the sixth in the Tablet of Abydos. This may be due to carelessness on the part of the scribe who drew up the list, or even to a blunder by the sculptor, but it may be the expression of an opinion that Mer-pe-ba was the first actual king of Egypt.

We have now to consider the TABLET OF KARNAK.[2] This interesting monument was discovered by Burton near the sanctuary of the great temple of Àmen-Rā at Karnak, and dates from the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty; it contains a representation of Thothmes III. adoring sixty-one of his ancestors, whose names are duly set forth in cartouches above their figures. Half of the kings face one way, and half the other, but the cartouches are not arranged in chronological order; this list, like the others already described, does not give a complete series of the

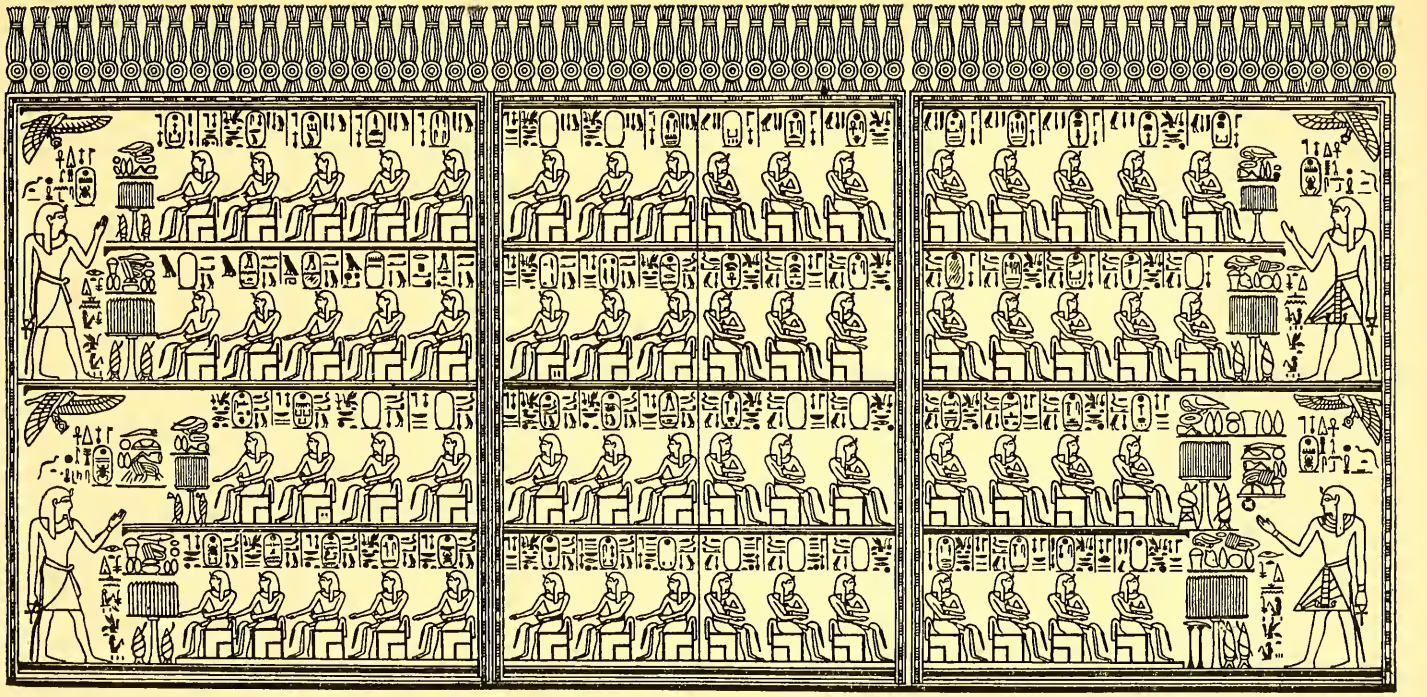
[1] A portion of another list of kings from Abydos, but made in the reign of Rameses II., is preserved in the British Museum; copies of the text will be found in Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Bl. 2, and Mariette, *Abydos*, tom. ii. plate 18. It was discovered by Bankes in 1818, and removed by Mimaut.

[2] The monument is preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. For copies of text see Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Bl. 1; and Prisse, *Monuments*, plate 1.

predecessors of Thothmes, and again it is not evident on what principle the selection of the names of the kings was made. The great value of the list consists in the fact that it gives the names of many kings of the XIth, XIIIth, XIVth, XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth Dynasties, and thus supplies information which is wanting in the Tablets of Abydos and Ṣaḳḳâra. From the above paragraphs it will be seen that from the three selections of kings' names which form the King Lists of Abydos, Ṣaḳḳâra, and Karnak we may collect the names of more than one hundred kings who reigned between Menâ or Menes and Rameses II., and that for the period which follows the reign of the last-named king we must seek for information from other sources.

Next to the lists of kings drawn up in hieroglyphics must be mentioned the famous List of Kings which was divided into dynasties, and which formed part of the great historical work of Manetho on ancient Egyptian history. This distinguished man was born at Sebennytus,[1] the Theb-neteret  of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and he flourished in the reigns of Ptolemy Lagus and Ptolemy Philadelphus; his name seems to be the Greek form of the Egyptian  Mā-en-Teḥuti, i.e., "gift of Thoth," or

[1] Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 9 and 28. See also Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 70 ff; and *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, p. 511.



The Tablet of Karnak.

Ἑρμόδωρος. He is described as a "high priest and scribe," and bore a reputation for great learning, and he was undoubtedly admirably fitted to draw up in Greek the history of Egypt, and an account of her chronology, and of the manners, and customs, and religious beliefs of her people. His works are:— 1. *Αἰγυπτιακά*. 2. *Βίβλος Σώθεος*. 3. *Ἱερα Βίβλος*. 4. *Φυσικῶν ἐπιτομή*. 5. *Περὶ ἑορτῶν*. 6. *Περὶ ἀρχαίσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας*. 7. *Περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων*; but among modern nations his reputation rests chiefly upon the first of these, which we may regard as his history of Egypt. He divided the kings of Egypt into thirty dynasties; the first section of his work dealt with the mythological part of the history of Egypt and with the first eleven of these dynasties; the second with Dynasties XII.-XIX.; and the third with Dynasties XX.-XXX. Now the principal versions of the King List[1] of Manetho are four in number, and they are found in the famous "Chronography," which was drawn up about the end of the VIIIth century of our era by George the Monk, the Syncellus of Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and which professed to give an abstract, with dates, of the history of the world from Adam to Diocletian. The oldest version of Manetho is made known to us by an extract from the

[1] The Greek texts will be found in Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. Appendix; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Berlin, 1858; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, etc.

Chronicle of Julius Africanus, a Libyan [1] who flourished early in the IIIrd century A.D., which is preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius (born A.D. 264, died about 340), Bishop of Caesarea; the version given by Eusebius contains many interpolations; and that preserved in the Armenian rendering of his works is considered by some to be the more correct. Besides the versions of Africanus and George, commonly called Syncellus, we have another known as the "Old Chronicle," and still another which is called the "Book of the Sothis." The above mentioned four versions of Manetho's King List are as follows:—

I.—Manetho as quoted by Julius Africanus.		II.—Manetho as quoted by Eusebius.	
Dynasty I., at This.		Dynasty I., at This.	
1. Menes	62 years.	1. Menes	60 years.
2. Athothis	57	2. Athothis	27
3. Kenkenes	31	3. Kenkenes	39
4. Uenephes	23	4. Uenephes	42
5. Usaphais	20	5. Usaphaes	20
6. Miebis	26	6. Niebaes	26
7. Semempses	18	7. Semempses	18
8. Bieneches	26	8. Ubienthes	26
Eight kings in 253 (sic) years.		Eight kings in 252 (sic) years.	

[1] "He gave the traditions unadulterated just as he found them; he assumed the year of the world 5500 to be that of the incarnation of Jesus Christ;" Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 213.

Dynasty II., at This.	
1. Boethos	38 years.
2. Kaiechos	39
3. Binothris	47
4. Tlas	17
5. Sethenes	41
6. Chaires	17
7. Nephercheres	25
8. Sesochris	48
9. Chenephres	30
Nine kings in 302 years.	

Dynasty II., at This.	
1. Bochos	— years.
2. Choos	—
3. Biophis	—
4.	—
5. 3 others	—
6.	—
7. Another	—
8. Sesochris	48
9. Another	—
Nine kings in 297 years.	

Dynasty III., at Memphis.	
1. Necherophes	28 years.
2. Tosorthros	29
3. Tyris	7
4. Mesochris	17
5. Soyphis	16
6. Tosentasis	19
7. Aches	42
8. Sephuris	30
9. Kerpheres	26
Nine kings in 214 (sic) years.	

Dynasty III., at Memphis.	
1. Necherochis	— years.
2. Sesorthos	—
3.	—
4.	—
5.	—
6. (Six others unworthy of mention)	
7.	—
8.	—
Eight kings in 198 years.	

Dynasty IV., at Memphis.		Dynasty IV., at Memphis.	
1. Soris	29 years.	2 kings	— years.
2. Suphis	63	Suphis	—
3. Suphis	66		
4. Mencheres	63		
5. Ratoises	25		
6. Bicheris	22	Others	—
7. Sebercheres	7		
8. Thamphthis	9		
Eight kings in 274 (sic) years.		Seventeen kings in 448 years.	

Dynasty V., at Elephantine.		Dynasty V., at Elephantine.	
1. Usercheres	28 years.	Othoes	— years.
2. Sephres	13	Phiops	100
3. Nephercheres	20		
4. Sisires	7		
5. Cheires	20		
6. Rathures	44	Others	—
7. Mencheres	9		
8. Tancheres	44		
9. Onnos	33		
Eight kings in 248 (sic) years.		Thirty-one kings in 100 years.	

Dynasty VI., at Memphis.	Dynasty VI., at Memphis.
1. Othoes 30 years.	 years.
2. Phios 53	
3. Methusuphis 7	
4. Phiops 100	
5. Menthesuphis 1	
6. Nitocris 12	Nitocris —
Six kings in 203 years.	 kings in 203 years.

Dynasty VII., at Memphis.	Dynasty VII., at Memphis.
Seventy kings in 70 days.	Four kings in 75 days.

Dynasty VIII., at Memphis.	Dynasty VIII., at Memphis.
Twenty-seven kings in 146 years.	Five kings in 100 years.

Dynasty IX., at Heracleopolis.	Dynasty IX., at Heracleopolis.
Achthoes — years.	Achthoes — years.
Others —	Others —
Nineteen kings in 409 years.	Four kings in 100 years.

Dynasty X., at Heracleopolis.	Dynasty X., at Heracleopolis.
Nineteen kings in 185 years.	Nineteen kings in 185 years.
Dynasty XI., at Thebes.	Dynasty XI., at Thebes.
Sixteen kings in 43 years.	Sixteen kings in 43 years.
Ammenemes 16 years.	Ammenemes 16 years.
Dynasty XII., at Thebes.	Dynasty XII., at Thebes.
1. Sesonchosis 46 years.	Sesonchosis 46 years.
2. Ammanemes 38	Ammanemes 38
3. Sesostris 48	Sesostris 48
4. Lachares 8	Lamaris 8
5. Ameres 8	
6. Amenemes 8	Others 42
7. Skemiophris 4	
Seven kings in 160 years.	Seven kings in 245 years.
Dynasty XIII., at Thebes.	Dynasty XIII., at Thebes.
Sixty kings in 453 years.	Sixty kings in 453 years.
Dynasty XIV., at Xois.	Dynasty XIV., at Xois.
Seventy-six kings in 184 years.	Seventy-six kings in 184, or 484 years.

Dynasty XV., of Shepherds.		Dynasty XV., at Thebes.
1. Saites	19 years.	
2. Bnon	44	
3. Pachnan	61	
4. Staan	50	
5. Archles	49	
6. Aphobis	61	
Six kings in 284 years.		 kings in 250 years.

Dynasty XVI., of Shepherds.	Dynasty XVI., at Thebes.
Thirty-two kings in 518 years.	Five kings in 190 years.

Dynasty XVII., of Shepherds.		Dynasty XVII., of Shepherds.	
Forty-three kings in 151 years.		Saites	19 years.
Dynasty XVII., at Thebes.		Bnon	40
Forty-three kings in 151 years.		Aphophis	14
		Archles	30
		Four kings in 103 years.	

Dynasty XVIII., at Thebes.		Dynasty XVIII., at Thebes.	
1. Amos	? years.	1. Amosis	25 years.
2. Chebros	13	2. Chebron	13

3. Amenophthis	21
4. Amensis	22
5. Misaphris	13
6. Misphrag-muthosis	26
7. Tuthmosis	9
8. Amenophis	31
9. Oros	37
10. Acherres	32
11. Rathos	6
12. Chebres	12
13. Acherres	12
14. Armesses	5
15. Ramesses	1
16. Amenophath	19

Sixteen kings in 263 years.

3. Amenophis	21
4. Miphres	12
5. Misphrag-muthosis	26
6. Tuthmosis	9
7. Amenophis	31
8. Oros	36
9. Achencherses	16
10. Athoris	39
11. Chencheres	16
12. Acherres	8
13. Cherres	15
14. Armais	5
15. Ramesses	68
16. Ammenophis	40

Fourteen kings in 348 years.

Dynasty XIX., at Thebes.

1. Sethos	51 years.
2. Rapsakes	61
3. Ammeneph-thes	20
4. Ramesses	60
5. Ammenemnes	5
6. Thuoris	—

Seven kings in 209 years.

Dynasty XIX., at Thebes.

Sethos	55 years.
Rampses	66
Ammeneph-thes	40
.....	
Ammenemes	26
Thuoris	7

Five kings in 194 years.

Dynasty XX., at Thebes.

Twelve kings in 135 years.

Dynasty XX., at Thebes.

Twelve kings in 178 years.

Dynasty XXI., at Tanis.

1.	Smendes	26 years.
2.	Psusennes	46
3.	Nephelcheres	4
4.	Amenophthis	9
5.	Osochor	6
6.	Psinaches	9
7.	Psusennes	14

Seven kings in 130 years.

Dynasty XXI., at Tanis.

	Smendis	26 years.
	Psusennes	41
	Nephercheres	4
	Amenophthis	9
	Osochor	6
	Psinaches	9
	Psusennes	35

Seven kings in 130 years.

Dynasty XXII., at Bubastis.

1.	Sesonchis	21 years.
2.	Osorthon	15
3-5.	Three others	25
6.	Takelothis	13
7-9.	Three others	42

Nine kings in 120 years.

Dynasty XXII., at Bubastis.

1.	Sesonchosis	21 years.
2.	Osorthon	15
3.	Takelothis	13

Three kings in 49 years.

Dynasty XXIII., at Tanis.	
1. Petubates	40 years.
2. Osorcho	8
3. Psammus	10
4. Zet	31
Four kings in 89 years.	

Dynasty XXIII., at Tanis.	
1. Petubastes	25 years.
2. Osorthon	9
3. Psammus	10
Three kings in 44 years.	

Dynasty XXIV., at Saïs.	
Bocchoris	6 years.

Dynasty XXIV., at Saïs.	
Bocchoris	44 years.

Dynasty XXV., in Ethiopia.	
1. Sabakon	8 years.
2. Sebichos	14
3. Tarkos	18
Three kings in 40 years.	

Dynasty XXV., in Ethiopia.	
1. Sabakon	12 years.
2. Sebichos	12
3. Tarakos	20
Three kings in 44 years.	

Dynasty XXVI., at Saïs.	
1. Stephinates	7 years.
2. Nechepsos	6
3. Nechao	8
4. Psammetichos	54
5. Nechao	6
6. Psammuthis	6
7. Uaphris	19
8. Amosis	44
9. Psammecherites	½
Nine kings in 150½ years.	

Dynasty XXVI., at Saïs.	
1. Ammeris	12 years.
2. Stephinathis	7
3. Nechepsos	6
4. Nechao	8
5. Psammetichos	45
6. Nechao	6
7. Psammuthis	17
8. Uaphris	25
9. Amosis	42
Nine kings in 163 years.	

Dynasty XXVII., Persians.

1. Cambyses 6 years.
2. Darius Hystaspes 36
3. Xerxes the Great 21
4. Artabanus 7 months.
5. Artaxerxes 41 years.
6. Xerxes 2 months.
7. Sogdianos 7 months.
8. Darius 19 years.

Eight kings in 124 years, 4 months.

Dynasty XXVII., Persians.

1. Cambyses 3 years.
2. Magoi 7 months.
3. Darius 36 years.
4. Xerxes 21
5. Artaxerxes 40
6. Xerxes 2 months.
7. Sogdianos 7 months.
8. Darius 19 years.

Eight kings in 120 years, 4 months.

Dynasty XXVIII., at Saïs.

Amyrtaeus 6 years.

Dynasty XXVIII., at Saïs.

Amyrtaeus 6 years.

Dynasty XXIX., at Mendes.

1. Nepherites 6 years.
2. Achoris 13
3. Psammonthis 1
4. Nepherites 4 months.

Four kings in 20 years, 4 months.

Dynasty XXIX., at Mendes.

1. Nepherites 6 years.
2. Achoris 13
3. Psammonthis 1
4. Nepherites 4 months.
5. Mouthis 1 year.

Five kings in 21 years, 4 months.

Dynasty XXX., at Sebennytus.	
1. Nektanebes	18 years.
2. Teos	2
3. Nektanebos	18
Three kings in	38 years.

Dynasty XXX., at Sebennytus.	
1. Nektanebes	10 years.
2. Teos	2
3. Nektanebos	8
Three kings in	20 years.

III.—The Old Chronicle.[1]

Fifteen kings, or Dynasties		443 years.
Dyn. XVI., at Tanis.	Eight kings in	190
XVII., at Memphis.	Four kings in	103
XVIII., at Memphis.	Fourteen kings in	348
XIX., at Thebes.	Five kings in	194
XX., at Thebes.	Eight kings in	228
XXI., at Tanis.	Six kings in	121
XXII., at Tanis.	Three kings in	48
XXIII., at Thebes.	Two kings in	19
XXIV., at Saïs.	Three kings in	44
XXV., in Ethiopia.	Three kings in	44
XXVI., at Memphis.	Seven kings in	177
XXVII., Persians.	Five kings in	124
XXVIII., ...		—
XXIX., Tanites.		39
XXX., ...	One king in	18

[1] For the Greek text, see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, p. 534.

IV.—The Book of the Sothis.[1]

1.	Menes	35 years,	2776 A.M.
2.	Kurodes	63	2811
3.	Aristarchos	34	2874
4.	Spanios	36	2908
5, 6.		72	2944
7.	Osiropis	23	3016
8.	Sesonchosis	49	3039
9.	Amenemes	29	3088
10.	Amasis	2	3117
11.	Akesephthres	13	3119
12.	Anchoneus	9	3132
13.	Armiyses	4	3141
14.	Chamois	12	3145
15.	Miamus	14	3157
16.	Amesesis	65	3171
17.	Uses	50	3236
18.	Rameses	29	3286
19.	Ramesomenes	15	3315
20.	Usimare	31	3330
21.	Ramesseseos	23	3361
22.	Ramessameno	19	3384
23.	Ramesse Iubassz	39	3403
24.	Ramesse Uaphru	29	3442

[1] For the Greek text, see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. ii. ed. Didot, p. 607.

25. Koncharis	5 years,	3471 A.M.
26. Silites	19	3477
27. Baeon	44	3496
28. Apachnas	36	3540
29. Aphophis	61	3576
30. Sethos	50	3637
31. Kertos	29	3687
32. Aseth	20	3716
33. Amosis	26	3736
34. Chebron	13	3762
35. Amemphis	15	3775
36. Amenses	11	3790
37. Misphragmuthosis	16	3801
38. Misphres	23	3817
39. Tuthmosis	39	3840
40. Amenophthis	34	3879
41. Oros	48	3913
42. Achencheres	25	3961
43. Athoris	29	3986
44. Chencheres	26	4015
45. Acherres	8	4041
46. Armaeos	9	4049
47. Ramesses	68	4058
48. Amenophis	8	4126
49. Thuoris	17	4134
50. Nechepsos	19	4151
51. Psammuthis	13	4170

52.	4 years,	4183 A.M.
53. Kertos	20	4187
54. Rampsis	45	4207
55. Amenses	26	4252
56. Ochyras	14	4278
57. Amendes	27	4292
58. Thuoris	50	4319
59. Athothis	28	4369
60. Kenkenes	39	4397
61. Uennephis	42	4436
62. Susakeim	34	4478
63. Psuenos	25	4512
64. Ammenophis	9	4537
65. Nephercheres	6	4546
66. Saites	15	4552
67. Psinaches	9	4567
68. Petubastes	44	4576
69. Osorthon	9	4620
70. Psammos	10	4629
71. Koncharis	21	4639
72. Osorthon	15	4660
73. Takalophis	13	4675
74. Bokchoris	44	4688

75.	Sabakon	12 years,	4732 A.M.
76.	Sebechon	12	4744
77.	Tarakes	20	4756
78.	Amaes	38	4776
79.	Stephinathes	27	4814
80.	Nechepsos	13	4841
81.	Nechos	8	4854
82.	Psammitichos	14	4862
83.	Nechao	9	4876
84.	Psamuthes	17	4885
85.	Uaphris	34	4902
86.	Amosis	50	4936

An examination of the versions of Manetho's King List according to Julius Africanus and Eusebius shows that they do not agree in many important particulars, i.e., in arrangement of dynasties, in the lengths of the reigns of the kings, and in the total numbers of kings assigned to the different dynasties. Moreover, according to Julius Africanus 561 kings reigned in about 5524 years, while according to Eusebius only about 361 kings reigned in 4480 or 4780 years. In the Old Chronicle the total number of kings given is 84, and they are declared to have reigned about 2140 years, and in the Book of the Sothis the total number of kings is 86 and the total duration of their reigns is given as about 2500 years. Now the information which we have obtained from the Egyptian monuments

shows that the Old Chronicle and the Book of the Sothis are quite useless for chronological purposes, because it is self-evident that they do not contain complete lists of the kings, and that the names of the kings which are in them, as well as some of the dynasties, are out of order. This is a statement of fact and not a conjecture. But how are the discrepancies between the lists of Julius Africanus and Eusebius to be explained? The version of Julius Africanus is clearly the more accurate of the two, because it agrees best with the monuments, and Bunsen was probably right in saying[1] that his object was not to arrange a system of Annals, but to give the traditions unaltered, and just as he found them. In fact, judging only by the mere forms of the kings' names which he gives, and which (even after the lapse of 1600 years, and in spite of the ignorance and carelessness of subsequent copyists) are on the whole remarkably correct, it seems pretty certain that he must have had a copy of Manetho's list before him. The version of Eusebius was based upon that of Africanus, and he appears to have been careless in copying both names and figures, and the names of many kings are wanting in the extant copies of his works. We know from Plutarch that Manetho was a high-priest and scribe connected with the mysteries in the temple of Heliopolis, and there is no doubt that, in compiling the work which he had received the

[1] *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 213.

royal command to undertake, he would be in a position to draw his information from sources which were regarded as authoritative and authentic by his brother priests. That his name carried weight, and that his reputation for learning was very great for centuries after his death, is evident from the fact that impostors endeavoured to obtain circulation for their own pseudo-historical works by issuing them under his name. We have no right to blame Manetho for the mistakes which his editors and copyists made, and in considering his list the wonder is that the version of Julius Africanus agrees as closely as it does with the monumental evidence. The discrepancies in the numbers are due chiefly to the misreading by the scribes of the Greek letters which stood for figures; the names, however, are generally given in correct order, and as instances of this fact we may quote those of the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties.

The evidence of Herodotus (B.C. 450) and Diodorus Siculus (B.C. 57) concerning Egyptian chronology is interesting, especially that of the former writer. Some of the information given by Herodotus is, no doubt, derived from Hecataeus of Miletus, but, as is the case also with Diodorus, much of it is the result of his own inquiries and observation. The list of kings given in each of their works is, on the whole, of little value, for Herodotus apparently merely set down in writing the names of the kings whose buildings he passed on the Nile in the order in which he saw them,

and Diodorus filled his history with a large amount of legendary matter from which, of course, no conclusion can be drawn. As an exception, however, it may be noted that the account of the kings who built the Pyramids in the IVth Dynasty agrees absolutely with the monuments as regards the names of the kings, the lengths of their reigns, and the order in which they reigned, and in several passages Diodorus[1] correctly estimates the period of time which had elapsed since the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy at about 4700 years.

It will be evident from what has been said above that it is impossible from the King Lists in hieroglyphics and Greek to formulate any system of chronology which shall be more than approximately correct, and although the evidence derived from such lists and from the monuments of individual kings when taken together is wonderfully strong in favour of the high antiquity of Egyptian civilization generally, it does not enable us to fix the period when we may assume that Egyptian history began. The Tablet of Abydos and the versions of Manetho ascribed to Julius Africanus and Eusebius, and even the worthless Book of the Sothis, all agree in making Menâ to be the first historical king

[1] See an interesting pamphlet entitled *Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden*, Berlin, 1901, by Fr. W. von Bissing. He compares the accounts of Diodorus and Herodotus, and notes that the former writer says that the pyramids were built by means of inclined planes, χωμάτα.

of Egypt, though we now know that he was not the first king of Egypt, but none of these authorities affords the information which will enable us with certainty to assign a date for his reign. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to obtain some fixed point in the King Lists from which it might be possible to deduce his date, and the means employed have been :—1. The Sothic Period ;[1] 2. Synchronisms ; 3. The Orientation of Egyptian Temples. Of the Sothic Period we have five mentions in the inscriptions ; three of these have been submitted to strict examination by Sir Norman Lockyer, K.C.B., and he thinks that the rising of Sirius on the 27th day of Epiphi, in the reign of Pepi-Meri-Rā, took place about B.C. 3192, and that the other risings of Sirius mentioned by Brugsch[2] took place about B.C. 1728 and B.C. 270 respectively.[3] Now Pepi-Meri-Rā's name is the thirty-sixth on the Tablet

[1] "Now in books on Egyptology the period of 1461 years is termed the Sothic period, and truly so, as it very nearly correctly measures the period elapsing between two heliacal risings at the solstice (on the beginning of the Nile flood), on the 1st of Thoth, in the *vague* year. But it is merely the result of *chance* that $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ represents it. It was not then known that the processional movement of Sirius almost exactly made up the difference between the true length of the year and the assumed length of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. It has been stated that this period had not any ancient existence, but was calculated back in later times. This seems to me very improbable." Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 256.

[2] *Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du Calendrier*, pp. 33, 64, 68 ; see also *Aeg. Zeit.*, Bd. xxxvii. p. 100.

[3] *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 262.

of Abydos, and it is clear that he is either Phios or Phiops, i.e., a king of the VIth Dynasty according to the version of Manetho given by Julius Africanus; this being so, and by adding Manetho's totals of the years of the first five dynasties, i.e., 253 + 302 + 214 + 274 + 248, or 1291 years to B.C. 3192, we arrive at the date for Mena of B.C. 4483. No one can pretend to accept this as a definite date, but it is at least useful as showing that the evidence derived from the use of the Sothic Period in Egyptian chronology indicates an antiquity for the civilization of Egypt which is higher than some are prepared to admit; on the other hand, Mr. Cecil Torr believes that the Sothic cycle was invented by the later Greeks at Alexandria, and he thinks that there is very little hope of correcting any dates in history by reference to the cycles of the phoenix[1] and the dog-star, or other things pertaining to the calendar.[2] In a recent paper[3] an attempt has been made to fix the date of Usertsen III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty, by means of two of the Kahûn papyri which mention the rising of Sirius on the 16th day of the IVth month of the winter of the 7th year of the king's reign, and the festival gifts which were made on the following day; and it is argued that this took place between B.C. 1876 and B.C. 1872. It is further argued that between

[1] See Mahler in *Aeg. Zeit.*, Bd. xxviii. p. 115.

[2] *Memphis and Mycenae*, pp. 57 and 60.

[3] *Der Zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun*, by L. Borchardt (*Aeg. Zeit.*, Bd. xxxvii. p. 100 ff).

Usertsen III. and Amenophis I., whose ninth year (according to a calculation based upon a statement in respect of Sothis in the Ebers Papyrus) corresponds with B.C. 1545—1542, we must only allow a period of 330 years, and that between the end of the XIIth and the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty we must only allow from 200 to 210 years in our calculations.[1] That assertions of this kind must be received with caution is evident from the fact that another investigator, using the same data, declares that the true date of Usertsen III. is B.C. 1945; i.e., there is a difference of about seventy years in the results of the calculations[2] of the two writers on the subject. But according to Censorinus, the Dog-star, or Sirius, rose on the first day of the first month of the Egyptian year A.D. 139, and therefore the preceding Sothic Period began in B.C. 1322; this date is called by Theon of Alexandria "the era of Menophres," who has been identified by Prof. Petrie[3] with Rameses I., whose prenomen is Men-peḥ-Rā, and this identification may possibly be correct. Now Prof. Mahler has asserted

[1] "Es ist also das 7. Jahr Usertesen's III. als in die Jahre von 1876–1873 v. Chr. fallend anzusehen, d. h. immer noch etwa 100 Jahre später als es der am niedrigsten greifende Historiker Aegyptens, Eduard Meyer, in seinen Minimaldaten annahm." *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 102.

[2] See Nicklin in *Classical Review*, vol. xiv. 1900, p. 148; and Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, London, 1901, p. 67.

[3] *History of Egypt*, ii. p. 33; the reader should consult Mr. Torr's *Memphis and Mycenae*, p. 53 ff., where the unsatisfactory nature of such calculations is demonstrated.

that a *Set* Festival, i.e., the festival which was observed at the end of a period of thirty years, which was celebrated on the 28th day of a certain month of Epiphi in the reign of Thothmes III., was commemorated in the year B.C. 1470, and as a period of about 150 years probably elapsed between the reigns of Thothmes III.[1] and Rameses I., the two dates are, more or less, in agreement. It must, however, be remembered that, as said above, very little reliance is to be placed on any calculations of this kind in attempting to formulate an exact chronology, especially as authorities, both ancient and modern, are not agreed as to the exact date in the second century of our era when the Sothic Period ended on which they based their calculations. We may note in passing that the date assigned by Prof. Mahler to the reign of Thothmes III., i.e., from B.C. 1503 to B.C. 1449, is proved to be about half a century too low by the synchronisms of Burna-buriash and Ashur-uballiṭ with Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., as we have shown below; the arguments adduced by Prof. Petrie in favour of Prof. Mahler's date for Thothmes III., to the effect that the Seṭ Festival celebrated by Mer-en-Ptaḥ in the second year of his reign took place B.C. 1206, and the rising of Sirius in the ninth year of Amenophis I. took place B.C. 1546, do

[1] The Al-Bersheh tablet, which is thought by Professor Petrie to afford such a "brilliant confirmation of Mahler's astronomical reckoning," is destroyed, and, as data supplied by it cannot be verified, is useless for purposes of argument.

not confirm Prof. Mahler's arguments, because the calculations by which these dates are arrived at both start, the one forwards and the other backwards, from B.C. 1478, the date adopted by Prof. Mahler. This likewise is an unsatisfactory method of arriving at an exact system of Egyptian chronology.

In connection with the Sothic Period must be mentioned Prof. Petrie's attempt to extract the means of arriving at a date for the reign of Mer-en-Rā, a king of the VIth Dynasty, from the inscription of the official Unà, whose labours in the service of his royal master are so well known. Near the end of his inscription Unà says that his Majesty Mer-en-Rā sent him to the quarry of Ḥet-nub to hew out a large alabaster table for offerings; this he did, and placing it in a broad boat, he floated it down the river to Memphis in seventeen days. The boat measured sixty cubits by thirty cubits, and he built the boat, or raft, and quarried the table for offerings in seventeen days in the month of Epiphi. Unà then says, , i.e., "behold there was no water on the *thesu*, i.e., shoals or sandbanks," but notwithstanding the difficulty, he adds, he brought the boat, or raft, safely into port at the Pyramid of Khānefer of Mer-en-Rā, in peace.[1] Prof. Petrie argues from this statement that when Unà arrived off Memphis in the month of Epiphi the waters of the Nile had

[1] *A History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 95.

subsided so greatly that he was unable to float the boat or barge with its heavy load over the land which had been recently inundated, for the depth of the water on the land did not permit him to do so. So far all is clear, and this is undoubtedly what the words in hieroglyphics indicate. But Prof. Petrie adds, "This "fact shows the season of the month Epiphi in that "age, from which—by the shifting of the calendar "round the seasons in each Sothis period of 1460 "years—it is possible to get an approximate date for "the reign of Mer-en-Rā at about 3350 B.C." What Unà narrates may show that the month of Epiphi was considerably out of place in the year when he went to Ḥet-nub, but the possibility of deducing any date for the reigning king from this circumstance is too remote to be seriously entertained for a moment.

Of more interest, and of much greater value, are the synchronisms which can certainly be established between Amenophis IV., king of Egypt, and Burra-buriash, king of Karaduniyash,[1] or Babylonia, and between Shashanq I., king of Egypt, and Rehoboam, king of Israel. Now we know from the form of the name Burna-buriash or Burra-buriyash that we are dealing with a member of the Kassite Dynasty which ruled over Babylonia, and we also know that the period of their rule was about B.C. 1400, because Nabonidus, who reigned from about B.C. 555 to B.C.

[1] This is the old Elamite name of Babylonia.

538, tells us in one of his inscriptions[1] that Shagash-alti-buriyash, who was one of the Kassite kings, reigned 800 years before him. From the *Synchronous History*, col. i., ll. 5-7, we know that Burra-buriyash was a contemporary of Puzur-Ashur, king of Assyria, and from lines 8 ff. we know that Puzur-Ashur lived at an earlier period than Ashur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria. Now Nabonidus also tells us (Brit. Mus. 85-4-30, 2, col. ii., ll. 20-24) that Burra-buriyash lived 700 years after Khammurabi; we have therefore to fix the period for the reign of the latter king before the information can be of much value to us. Now Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, who reigned from B.C. 668 to 626, says[2] that the Elamite king Kudur-Nankhundi invaded Babylonia 1635 or 1535 years before he himself conquered Susa, i.e., Kudur-Nankhundi invaded Babylonia about B.C. 2285 or 2185. But it was this same Elamite power which Khammurabi crushed,[3] and so he must have lived *after* Kudur-Nankhundi; we may therefore at the latest place the date of his reign at about B.C. 2200. If, then, Burra-buriyash lived 700 years after Khammurabi, the date of his reign would be about B.C. 1450 or 1400. We must return for a moment to Ashur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, who was

[1] *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v. plate 64, col. iii. ll. 27–29.

[2] *Ibid.*, plate 6, col. 6, l. 107.

[3] See especially L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Khammurabi*, vol. iii. p. 236 ff.

one of the successors of Puzur-Ashur, king of Assyria, and whose date may be fixed by the following facts. On a slab in the British Museum, No. 44,855,[1] Rammân-nirari states that he is the great-grandson of Ashur-uballiṭ; in another inscription[2] Shalmaneser I. states that he is the son of Rammân-nirari I., and in another[3] Tukulti-Ninib asserts that he is the son of Shalmaneser I.; from these three statements it is clear that Ashur-uballiṭ was the great-great-great-grandfather of Tukulti-Ninib. Now, Sennacherib made a copy[4] upon clay of an inscription of Tukulti-Ninib which had been cut upon a lapis-lazuli seal; this seal had been carried off to Babylon by some successful conqueror of Assyria, and Sennacherib found it there after he had vanquished the Babylonians and had captured their city. We know that Sennacherib reigned from about B.C. 705 to B.C. 681, and he tells us in a few lines added to his copy of the writing on Tukulti-Ninib's seal that the lapis-lazuli seal was carried off to Babylon 600 years before his own time; therefore Tukulti-Ninib must have reigned at least as far back as B.C. 1280, and as there is no evidence to show that the seal was carried off during his lifetime, we may assume rightly that Tukulti-Ninib's date is about B.C. 1300. But we have

[1] See *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv. plate 39, obv. l. 27 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. plate 6, No. 4.

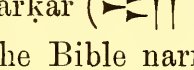
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. plate 4, No. 2.

[4] The text will be found *ibid.*, vol. iii. plate 4, No. 2.

seen that Ashur-uballiṭ was Tukulti-Ninib's great-great-great-grandfather, and therefore he can hardly have lived less than 100 years before Tukulti-Ninib; thus it is clear that the date which we must assign to the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ cannot be later than B.C. 1400. Now we know that the Tell el-'Amarna tablet at Berlin (No. 9) was written to Amenophis IV. by Ashur-uballiṭ, therefore these two kings were contemporaries, and the date of Amenophis IV. cannot be later than B.C. 1400. We have seen above that Burra-buriyash was a contemporary of Puzur-Ashur, king of Assyria, the predecessor of Ashur-uballiṭ, and his date may, at the lowest computation, be fixed at about B.C. 1430; but we know that Burra-buriyash wrote letters to Amenophis III., and therefore we shall be right in saying that the beginning of the reign of this king cannot be much later than B.C. 1450. This synchronism is thus well established.

The next synchronism to be mentioned is that of Shashanq I., king of Egypt, with Jeroboam, king of Israel, and Rehoboam, king of Judah, about B.C. 950.[1] The date of this synchronism is calculated from the earliest certain date or event in Syrian history, i.e., the battle of Ḳarḳar, which took place B.C. 854; in this battle Ahab and his allies were defeated by Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria, who reigned from B.C. 859 to 825. It is well known that as far back as B.C. 893 nearly all

[1] This is the date adopted by Wellhausen. Professor Karl Marti gives B.C. 930.

the principal events in Assyrian history may be dated by the names in the Eponym Canon, and although the battle of Ḳarḳar () is not mentioned in the Bible narrative, the evidence for its date is as certain as such things can ever be.

Finally, we may refer to the synchronism of Gyges, king of Lydia, with Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, and Psammetichus I., king of Egypt. We know from the inscriptions of Ashur-bani-pal [1] that he waged war against Gyges, and that Gyges assisted Psammetichus in his revolt against the Assyrian king, and there is no doubt that these events took place about B.C. 650. An indirect confirmation of this statement is supplied by the Greek poet Archilochos, a contemporary of Gyges, who mentions a total eclipse of the sun which took place at mid-day, and it has been calculated astronomically that this eclipse took place on April 6th, B.C. 648.[2]

In recent years Sir Norman Lockyer has devoted very considerable time and labour to the working out of the important question of the astronomical basis upon which ancient Egyptian temples were oriented, and he has arrived at the conclusion that it is possible to assign dates to the periods when many of the largest and most venerable of these edifices were founded. He has obtained his results by means of purely astronomical

[1] See *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v. pl. 2, l. 95 ff.

[2] See H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 254, note 1.

calculations, and they agree generally with the evidence which may be deduced from the discoveries concerning the "New Race" and the kings of the Ist Dynasty, which have been made since the *Dawn of Astronomy* was written. There can be no doubt about the correctness of many of his assertions as to the refounding and reconstruction of the largest of the temples, and it is important to note that the dates proposed by him for the original foundings for certain temples, although at one time believed by some to be too early, may now be regarded as probably correct. Astronomical evidence supports the evidence derived from every other source in assigning a remote antiquity to the period when Egyptian civilization began; but unfortunately it does not assist us in formulating a complete system of Egyptian chronology with exact dates.

We may now sum up the results which may be fairly deduced from the facts set forth above. The King Lists, whether written in hieroglyphics or Greek, contain omissions and conflicting statements, but the evidence of such Lists as a whole, when taken into consideration with the information on Egyptian history which is supplied by the monuments, may be regarded as generally correct and quite credible. From the King Lists the Royal Papyrus of Turin must, of course, be excluded, for the small fragments into which it was reduced in the box on its way to Turin were pieced together by a man whose system of hieroglyphic decipherment has been universally rejected, and whose

knowledge of the hieratic character was so small as to be useless for the purpose to which he tried to apply it; moreover, according to the testimony of de Rougé, whose learning and integrity are beyond question, and whose statement on the subject must be regarded as final, no arguments can be rightly based upon the position of the fragments which seem to contain the names of kings of the so-called XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties. The difficulty which besets the Egyptologist who tries to assign a date to the reign of Menes, the first king of Egypt according to the Tablet of Abydos, is well illustrated by the fact that Champollion-Figeac gives as his date B.C. 5867; Boeckh, B.C. 5702; Lepsius, B.C. 3892; Mariette, B.C. 5004; Bunsen, B.C. 3623; Wilkinson, B.C. 2320; and Brugsch, B.C. 4455 or B.C. 4400. Of these writers the only ones whose chronological views are to be seriously considered are Lepsius, Mariette, and Brugsch, between whose highest and lowest dates is an interval of over 1100 years. Viewed in the light of recent investigations, the date of Lepsius seems to be too low, whilst that of Mariette, in the same way, seems to be too high; we have therefore to consider the date for Menes arrived at by Brugsch. This eminent Egyptologist based his system of chronology upon the well-known calculation of Herodotus, that the duration of three consecutive human lives represents a century, and he thought that he could determine approximately[1] the periods of time which have elapsed between Menes

[1] See *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 33.

and the end of the XIIth Dynasty, and from the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty to the end of the XXVIth, by means of the King Lists and the pedigrees of high Egyptian officials. Although this system is open to many objections on the score of inaccuracy in respect of the dates of certain events which may now be fixed with considerable exactness, it has much to recommend it, and is on the whole the best that has been devised; in any case, the knowledge which Brugsch possessed of Egyptology in all its branches was so vast, that in a general question of this kind his opinion carries great weight, and is entitled to the utmost respect. The present writer here, as elsewhere, has adopted Brugsch's system, with certain modifications which were rendered necessary by recent discoveries, e.g., the date of Thothmes III. must be brought down from B.C. 1600 to between B.C. 1550 and 1500; the interval between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties, as stated by Brugsch, can hardly have been so long. But in view of our ignorance of the historical events which took place between the end of the XIIth and the end of the XVIIth Dynasty, it has been well to retain his dating of the kings of the Middle Empire, i.e., those of the XIth, XIIth, XIIIth, and XVIth Dynasties. The length of the duration of the two great gaps in Egyptian history, i.e., from the end of the VIth to the beginning of the XIth Dynasty, and from the end of the XIIIth to the end of the XVIIth Dynasty, is at present unknown; all we can now say is that

they seem to have been shorter than was assumed by Brugsch, who based his opinion on Manetho's figures, which in this section are certainly garbled. Until we obtain monumental authority for filling up these gaps, any attempt to do so which is based upon the Royal Papyrus of Turin, or upon the evidence of the unidentified royal names which are found on scarabs, is quite futile; this being so, it is far more satisfactory to employ for the Ancient and Middle Empires[1] the dates computed by Brugsch. It must, however, be distinctly understood that, when Brugsch gives the date for, let us say, Ȧmen-em-ḥāt I. as B.C. 2466, he does not mean to imply that Ȧmen-em-ḥāt I. ascended the throne in that year, but that his generation falls roughly about that time, i.e., about thirty years earlier or later than B.C. 2466. Similarly, he does not intend his readers to think that he believed Rameses II. to have begun to reign B.C. 1333, but only in the second half of the XIVth century B.C. It is very important that this fact should be borne in mind, lest the system of Brugsch be confused with the systems which assign exact dates to every Egyptian king, for no exact dates can be assigned to any Egyptian kings before the XXVIth Dynasty, although as far back as the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty no greater error than fifty years is possible.

[1] The Ancient Empire = Dynasties I. to X.; the Middle Empire = Dynasties XI. to XVI.; the New Empire = Dynasties XVII. to XXVI.

CHAPTER III.

THE LEGENDARY PERIOD.

THE fact that the ancient Egyptians of the historical period attempted to formulate their hazy ideas concerning the predynastic period of their history and its duration is made known to us by certain of the versions of the King List of Manetho, which have been preserved by George the Syncellus. The statements which refer to this period that are found in them, as well as the numbers of years which the gods, demigods, kings, ghosts, etc., are alleged to have reigned, prove that those who drew up the materials from which Manetho compiled his King List had no correct knowledge of the duration of the Predynastic Period in Egypt or even of the early Dynastic Period, and it is now quite clear that even in the time of the XIXth Dynasty its history had long since degenerated into legend and a confused mass of hopelessly mixed tradition. According to George the Syncellus the Egyptians possessed a "certain tablet called the "Old Chronicle, containing thirty dynasties in 113

"descents, during the long period of 36,525 years. "The first series of princes was that of the Auritae, "the second was that of the Mestraeans, and the third "of Egyptians."[1] The reign of the gods was as follows:—

HEPHAISTOS, to whom "is assigned no time, as he "is apparent both by day and by night."
HELIOS, the son of Hephaistos, reigned 30,000 years.
KRONOS, and the other twelve gods, reigned 3984 years.
DEMI-GODS, eight in number, reigned 217 years.

The 30 dynasties of kings reigned 2324 years, and thus we get a grand total of 36,525 years for the duration of the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods in Egypt. The Syncellus goes on to say that the period of 36,525 years equals 25 times 1461 years, and that it "relates to the fabled periodical revolution of the "zodiac among the Egyptians and Greeks, that is, its "revolution from a particular point to the same again, "which point is the first minute of the first degree of "that equinoctial sign which they call the Ram, as it "is explained in the Genesis of Hermes and in the "Cyrannian books."

[1] For the Greek text see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Didot, p. 534; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. p. 689; and Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832, p. 89 ff.

According to Eusebius[1] the duration of the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods was as follows:—

I. Gods	13,900 years.[2]
II. Demi-gods	
1. Demi-gods . . .	1,255
2. Other kings. . .	1,817
3. Thirty Memphite kings	1,790
4. Ten kings of This .	350
III. Manes. . . .	5,813
Total	24,925 years.

According to Manetho and Panodorus[3] the Divine Dynasties were as follows:—

I. Gods	(Panodorus) Years.	(Manetho) Years.
1. Hephaistos reigned	$727\frac{3}{4}$	9,000
2. Helios	$80\frac{1}{6}$	992
3. Agathodaemon	$56\frac{1}{2}$	700
4. Kronos	$40\frac{1}{2}$	501
5. Osiris and Isis	35	433
6. Typhon	29	359
	969	11,985

[1] See *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, tom. ii. p. 528, col. 1.

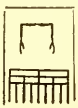
[2] "After them the empire descended by a long succession to Bites, through a lapse of 13,900 years, reckoned, I say, in lunar years of thirty days to each; for even now they call the month a year." Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 92.

[3] See *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.*, pp. 530, 531.

II. Demi-gods		(Panodorus) Years.		(Manetho) Years.
7. Horus	reigned	25		100
8. Ares		23		92
9. Anubis		17		68
10. Herakles		15		60
11. Apollo		25		100
12. Ammon		30		120
13. Tithoes		27		108
14. Sosus		32		128
15. Zeus		20		80
(Wanting)		½	(wanting)	2
		214½		858

Thus according to Manetho the reigns of the Gods and Demi-gods lasted about 12,843 years, and according to Panodorus about 1183½ years. The beings who are thus described as "Gods" and "Demi-gods" may or may not have been primeval chiefs or heads of tribes, but there can be little doubt that by the words νέκυες ὁι ἡμιθέοι we are to understand an allusion to the dead chiefs who flourished during the period which immediately preceded that of the Ist Dynasty. The νέκυες are in fact neither more nor less than the well-known "Shemsu Ḥeru,"  or "Followers of Horus," a class of beings who are mentioned frequently in Egyptian literature from the earliest times, and who seem to have introduced a higher grade of civilization

into Egypt; possibly they came, as has been said above, from the East by way of the upper part of the Nile Valley. Of such chiefs or kings traces have been found, and a number of tombs which have been declared to be, and probably are, their sepulchres have been excavated during the years 1900 and 1901 at Abydos. With these we may not now class that of KHENT, who was certainly a successor of Menà, or Menes. The sign which expressed his name  was, at a very early period, identified with the epithet applied to the god Osiris as "chief" of Amenti, and in the XIXth Dynasty, and probably earlier, we find that the tomb of the king Khent was regarded as that of the god. Possibly the earliest king of the group was ṬE or DE, the symbol of his name being the hand . With this king must also be mentioned two monarchs who reigned over Upper Egypt who were called RE, or RO, , and KA, .[1] From the evidence now forthcoming we are justified in saying that long before the unification of the rule of the Nile Valley under Menà, Upper Egypt, i.e., the country from the Fayyûm on the north to about Silsila on the south, and Lower Egypt, i.e., the Delta and a small portion of Middle Egypt, existed as two entirely distinct and independent kingdoms. The kingdom of Lower Egypt was probably the older, that is to say, it seems to have been inhabited by the

[1] See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Part ii., plate 13. Jars and sealings of king KA  have been found.

descendants of the aboriginal north-east African race who were conquered by the Shemsu Ḥeru, or the "Followers of Horus," i.e., the founders of the historical kingdom which had its beginning in Upper Egypt. This fact is proved by the use of the word SUTEN  in the Egyptian language of the historical period; originally the SUTEN was the "king of Upper Egypt," and the king of Lower Egypt was called NET or BÀT[1] , a word which has been conjectured to be of Libyan origin. It is worthy of note that in the group , which means "King of the South and North," the sign for "king of the South" precedes that of "king of the North." Now gradually the word SUTEN gained the meaning of king, *par excellence*, a signification which the word NET or BÀT never acquired. The fact that the Egyptians themselves always regarded their country as composed of two kingdoms, i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt, is proved by the two crowns which are usually united on the heads of their sovereigns. The crown of Upper Egypt was represented by the sign , and was called ḤETCHET, because of its "white" colour, and the crown of Lower

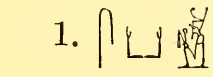
[1] According to the version of the Old Chronicle given by Eusebius (see Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 92), the dynasty of the gods was followed by a long succession of divine kings who reigned for 13,900 years; the last of these was *Bites*. It is possible that *Bites* has some connection with *Bât*, and if this be so, he probably represents the dynasty of Lower Egypt.

Egypt was represented by the sign , and was called ṬESHERT, because of its "red" colour; the united crowns were represented by , a sign which has been commonly but erroneously read "Pschent," the correct reading being, of course, "Sekhet."[1] Egyptian kings of the dynastic period were never tired of calling themselves "Lord of the two lands," , a title which we now know must refer to the two kingdoms of the South and North, and not to the ÀṬEBUI, or east and west banks of the Nile. Moreover, in the earliest dynastic times the king of all Egypt was already distinguished by the title , i.e., "lord of the city of the goddess Nekhebet," and "lord of the city of the goddess Uatchet," i.e., "lord of Eileithyiapolis and Buto," which were held to be the representative cities of the South and the North. The idea of the union of the South and the North was symbolically expressed by the hieroglyphic , which was intended to represent the tying together of the papyrus and lotus, plants which typified the South and the North respectively; the sign is read "SAM TAUI," i.e., "union of the two lands," and is found engraved on the thrones of seated statues of kings. The first instance of its use occurs on a vase of King Besh, i.e., Khā-sekhem (Khā-sekhemui), the Betchau of the King

[1] According to some "Sekhmet."

Lists, and it is of such interest that a drawing of it is reproduced on page 208, Vol. I.[1]

We have already stated that of the independent kings of Upper Egypt the names of three are known, i.e., Ṭe or De, and Re, and Ka; of certain of the early independent kings of Lower Egypt we have a most interesting record on a monument which is preserved in the Museum of Palermo in Sicily, and of which an interesting account has been written by Signor A. Pellegrini.[2] The inscriptions upon this monument or stele show that when complete it probably contained a list of the festivals celebrated in honour of various gods by kings who reigned before the end of the Vth Dynasty; it is important to remember in considering what follows that this monument itself dates from the Vth Dynasty, and that it is not removed from the predynastic period by an interval of time greater than 500 years. In the uppermost register occur the following names of predynastic kings of Lower Egypt, and each name is followed by the hieroglyphic for a seated king who is wearing the crown of Lower Egypt  only on his head.

1.  Seka.

2.  Ṭesāu.

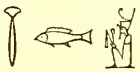
[1] See Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, plate 38.

[2] See *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, Nuova Serie, anno xx., Palermo, 1896; and see Naville, *Les plus Anciens Monuments* (*Recueil*, tom. xxi.).

3.  TÀU.

4.  THESH.

5.  NEHEB.

6.  UATCH-NĀR.

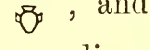
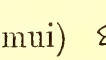
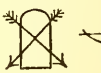
7.  MEKHA.

When and exactly where these kings reigned cannot be said, but it seems certain that they were independent kings of Lower Egypt who reigned before the time of Menà, or Menes.

CHAPTER IV.

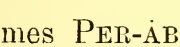
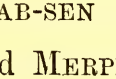
THE ARCHAIC PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY, I.E., THE FIRST THREE DYNASTIES.

THE writers of histories of Egypt and of summaries of Egyptian history before 1894 were compelled to begin their narratives by stating briefly or otherwise that our knowledge of the history of the Ist, IInd, and IIIrd Dynasties was limited to the names of the kings which were derived from the King Lists, and from a few monuments of the IInd and IIIrd Dynasties; of the Ist Dynasty no monument whatsoever was known. Since that year, however, a number of excavations have been made in Upper Egypt by Messrs. J. de Morgan, Amélineau, Petrie, Quibell, Garstang, and others, and these have resulted in the discovery of the tombs of several of the kings and officials of the Ist and IInd Dynasties, as well as of a large number of contemporaneous objects, i.e., stelae, vases and jars, sculptured slabs, ivory and ebony objects, etc. At Naḳâda, M. J. de Morgan excavated a very large tomb, which

was clearly that of a king whose Horus[1] name was , a sign now read ĀḤA, and at Abydos he was fortunate enough to secure objects inscribed with the Horus names of the new kings TCHA , ṬEN or DEN , ĀTCHÀB , and SEMERKHA . At Abydos, M. Amélineau discovered the tomb of the early dynastic king KHENT , and that of PER-ÀB-SEN , a king of the IInd Dynasty, already well known, and also objects inscribed with the names of some of the above-mentioned kings. The next discovery in point of importance was that made at Hierakonpolis in 1897 by Mr. Quibell, who found there, in the lowest strata of the mound of the temple of the city, remains of objects inscribed with the Horus names of two kings, i.e., NĀR-MER , who is also distinguished on his monuments by the appellation of "Scorpion," and KHĀ-SEKHEM (or Khā-Sekhemui) , whose personal name was Ḅesh. The name of the latter king was discovered by M. Amélineau, but it was misread TI.[2] Later, Prof. Petrie excavated the tombs of several of the kings above-mentioned, and the tomb of a king whose personal name was MER-NEIT , but whose Horus name is unknown, and the tomb of a king whose Horus name was QĀ , and also the

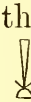
[1] See page 16.

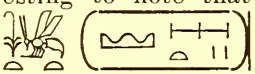
[2] See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, Paris, 1897, p. 243.

tomb of another king whose personal name was TCHESER . In 1901 he discovered relics of the predynastic kings RE and KA, and of the early dynastic monarch called SMA; in the same year Mr. Garstang discovered the tombs of two kings of the IIIrd Dynasty. The clue to the position in which the above-mentioned kings had to be placed in the scheme of Egyptian chronology was indicated both by the extremely archaic character of the objects which were found in their tombs, and by the occurrence of the names PER-AB-SEN , a king of the IInd Dynasty, and MERPEBA , whose Horus name is ĀTCHAB, and who is clearly to be identified[1] with MERBAP or MERBAPEN, a king of the Ist Dynasty, according to the King List of Abydos. A further important contribution to the identification of the other names was next made by Prof. Sethe,[2] who succeeded in proving that the king whose name was written on the objects from Abydos with the signs  was none other than the king whose name was written in later times with the characters  or , and was read "Ḥesepti"; it was at once clear that the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty had misread the hieratic signs for , and had transcribed them wrongly by , and that the true reading of the king's name was

[1] This identification was first made by Prof. Sethe.

[2] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv. p. 1 ff.

"Semti"[1] and not "Ḥesepti." The same scholar also was the first to identify a third king, who has since been shown to be the same as Semerkhat mentioned above, with the king of the Abydos List who has hitherto been called "Semen-Ptaḥ," and represents the Σεμέμψης of Manetho's List. The identification of the fourth king Qā with Qebeḥ has been shown by Prof. Petrie's excavations to be correct, although Herr Sethe arrived at his result by a wrong deduction, and by a confusion of the sign *khent* on a monument of king Qā with the name of the king KHENT, who has already been mentioned. It is true that the sign  is composed of three libation vases , the reading of which is "qebḥu," but the true explanation of the difficulty is that king Qā's personal name was Sen , which the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty misread as "qebḥ" . We may now note that the names of four kings are thus identified. In the year 1897, Herr Borchardt read a paper[2] in which he declared that Āḥa , the king who built the tomb at Naḳâda which was excavated by M. J. de Morgan, was none other than Menâ, or Menes, the first historical

[1] It is interesting to note that in the XVIIIth Dynasty we have the form ; see my *Book of the Dead*, text volume, p. 145.

[2] *Sitzungsberichte der König. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Gesammtsitzung von 25 November, 1897, pp. 1054–1058. (Ein neuer Königsname der Ersten Dynastie.)

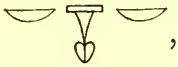
king of Egypt.[1] On an ivory plaque now preserved in the National Egyptian Museum at Cairo are figured a boat, birds, and other objects, and in the top right hand corner occur the Horus and personal names of the king who had it made. The Horus name, i.e., Āḥa, was already well known, but the personal name which follows after the signs  was read by Herr Borchardt as "Men," i.e., . Of the meaning of the signs  there can be little doubt, for they must be equivalent to or represent , i.e., "Lord of the South, Lord of the North;" but it is not absolutely certain that the sign which follows them has been rightly transcribed as "Men." That we are dealing with a royal name is probable, but that the sign which expresses this supposed royal name is the equivalent of "Men" or "Menà" is improbable; another explanation of the sign and its signification has been given by Wiedemann.[2]

M. Naville in a learned paper (*Recueil*, tom. xxi., p. 105) has discussed the matter at great length, and he entirely rejects the idea that we have on the ivory plaque the name of Menà, and especially the identification of king with Menà. On the other hand, he thinks that the sign in question is "men" ,

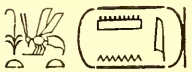
[1] According to Prof. Petrie the tomb discovered by J. de Morgan at Naḳâda is not that of Āḥa but of Nit-ḥetep, the wife of Menà. *Royal Tombs*, Part ii., p. 4.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1898, p. 113 ff.

but explains its signification in an entirely different manner.

Last of all the early dynastic kings now known to us is SMA , and it is possible that he was the immediate predecessor of Menà, for his name is mentioned on some objects of Nit-ḥetep , who was the wife of Menà. His tomb was discovered by Prof. Petrie, who found in it some ivory pots and covers, a basalt slab, etc.

FIRST DYNASTY. FROM THIS.

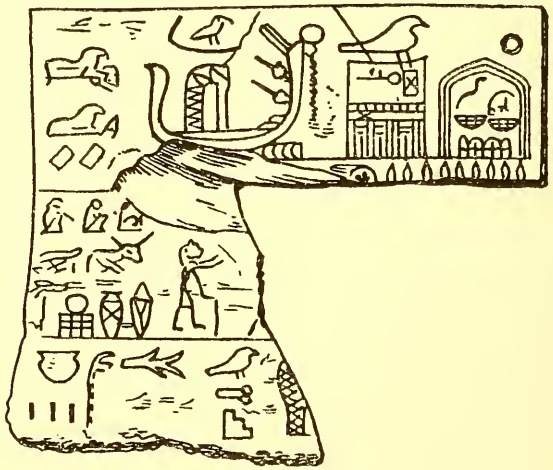
1.  or  MENÀ, Μήνης.

MENÀ, or Menes, is the first dynastic king of Egypt known to us, and the title "king of the South [and] king of the North" , which is given to him in the King List of Abydos, shows that he was lord of all Egypt; whether he was the first to bring the originally independent kingdoms of the South and North under one sceptre cannot be said definitely, but it is very probable, for all tradition unites in making him the first king of Egypt. In the year 1897, M. J. de Morgan excavated a large and important tomb at Naḳâda, which, judging from the inscriptions found upon the objects therein, was built for a king whose

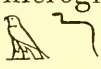
Horus name was ĀḤA , and whose personal name has been declared to be Men, i.e., Menà, or Menes. This tomb is rectangular in shape, and the larger sides make an angle with the magnetic north of 15° E. Its length is about 175 feet, and its width 88 feet; it contains twenty-one chambers, six at each side, two at each end, and five which occupy the middle portion of the tomb. The central one of the five probably formed the mummy-chamber; the walls are built of unburnt bricks, Nile mud having been used for mortar. On the floor of the chambers the remains of stone and clay jars, etc., were found in great abundance, and it seems that all the sepulchral vessels were broken either immediately before or at the time of burial, and it is clear that certain parts of the tomb had been set on fire. The objects found in this tomb[1] consisted of flakes of flint, flint knives and scrapers, a sandstone mortar, about eighty red earthenware vases, the mouths of which had been fastened by means of clay cones upon which the royal seal had been rolled, large numbers of vases, etc., in yellow clay, fragments of textile fabrics (burnt), a lion, dogs, fish, a needle, a kohlstick, fragment of a ring, statuettes, vases, bracelets, etc., in ivory, shells from the Red Sea, cylinder seals, beads made of green paste, and several vases and vessels made of hard stones of various kinds. Among these objects was a fragment of an ivory plaque, on

[1] The full list will be found in J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, p. 160 f.

which were inscribed figures of birds, animals, men, a boat, etc.; a general idea of the design upon it will be gathered from the following illustration which has been traced from that given in the *Recherches* of M. J. de Morgan. We have already discussed the reading of the Horus and personal names of the king which are given in the top right hand corner of the plaque, and have stated that the identification of ĀḤA with Menà



Ivory plaque inscribed with the names and titles of king Āḥa.

or Menes depends entirely upon the fact whether the hieroglyphic character which occurs beneath the signs  is MEN , and whether it is to be considered as a proper name or not;[1] no final decision can, of course, be arrived at in the matter until further information is forthcoming. It is, unfortunately, still

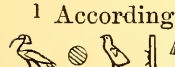
[1] It can hardly be , as M. Jéquier suggested.

extremely doubtful if any of the objects inscribed with the name of Men or Menà which exist in various collections are contemporaneous with the first dynastic king of Egypt: most of the scarabs which bear the name belong to a comparatively late period. The following extracts from the works of Herodotus, Manetho, and Diodorus are of interest:—

"After the dead[1] demi-gods the First Dynasty "consisted of eight kings. The first was Menes the "Thinite; he reigned sixty-two years, and perished by "a wound received from an hippopotamus." Manetho, in Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 94.

"To this they ad besides yt the first king yt ever "raygned was named Menes, under whose governaunce "all ye lande of Aegypte except the province of Thebes "was wholly covered and overwhelmed with water, and "yt no parte of the ground which lyes above the poole "called Myris was then to be sene: into which poole "from the sea is 7 dayes sayling." Herodotus ii. 4. (Translation by B. R.).[2]

"Menes the firste Kinge of Aegypt (as the pryests "make reporte) by altering the course of the ryver, "gayned all that grounde whereon the City Memphis is "situated: the floud being wonte before time to have "his course fast by the sandy mountayne which lyeth

[1] According to Chassinat, the Νεκύες of Manetho = the "Khu"  of the Egyptian inscriptions; see *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xix. p. 23 ff.

[2] "At London. Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1584."

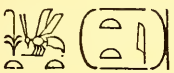
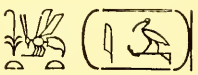
"towarde Lybia. This Menes therefore damminge uppe "the bosome of the ryver towards the south Region "havinge cast uppe a pyle, or bulwarke of Earth much "after an hundred Furlonges above the City, by that "means dryed the old Chanell, causinge the ryver to "forsake and abandone his naturall course and runne at "randame amiddest the hills. To which damme also the "Persians that rule in Aegypte even at this day have a "dilligent eye; yearely fortifyinge and repayringe the "same wyth newe and fresh Earth. Through the which "if by fortune the ryver stryvinge to recover his olde "course, should happily make a breach, the city Memphis "were in daunger to bee overwhelmed with water. By "the selfe same Menes firste bearinge rule and authority "in Aegypt (after yt by turning ye streame of Nilus he "had made dry ground of that where erst the ryver had "his passage) in the same plot of land was the city "itselfe founded and erected, which (as well may bee "seene) stands in the straight and narrow places of the "countrey. More than this, to the North and West "(for Eastward Memphis is bounded by the course of the "river) hee caused to be drawne out of the ryver a large "and wyde poole: beinge also the founder of Vulcans "temple in Memphis, one of the fayrest buildinges and "of chiefest fame in all the countrey of Aegypte." Herodotus ii. 99. (Translation by B. R., fol. 94*b*.)

"After the gods,[1] (they say,) Menis was the first king

[1] According to Diodorus the gods and demi-gods reigned in Egypt for about 18,000 years, and men for 15,000 years; see Bk. I. § 44.

"of Egypt. He taught the people the adoration of the "gods, and the manner of divine worship; how to adorn "their beds and tables with rich cloths and coverings, "and was the first that brought in a delicate and "sumptuous way of living." Diodorus i. 45. (Booth's translation.)

"One of the antient kings, called Menas, being set "upon and pursued by his own dogs, was forced into the "lake of Meris, where a crocodile (a wonder to be told) "took him up and carried him over to the other side, "where, in gratitude to the beast, he built a city, and "called it Crocodile, and commanded crocodiles to be "adored as gods, and dedicated the lake to them for a "place to feed and breed in. Where he built a sepulchre "for himself with a four-square pyramid, and a labyrinth "greatly admired by everybody." Diodorus ii. 89. (Booth's Translation.)

2.  TETÀ, or  À-TEḤUTI, *Αθωθις*.

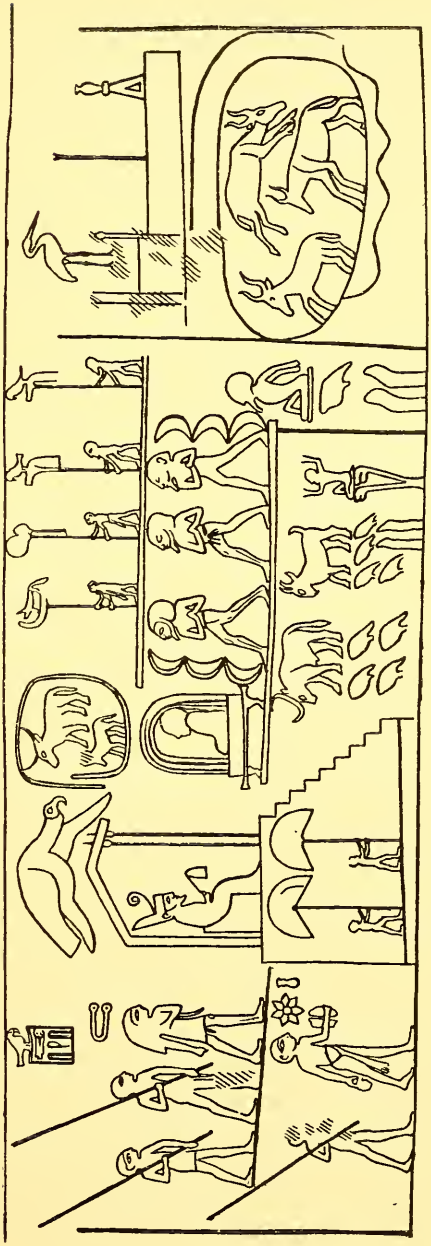
TETÀ, the Athothis of Manetho, is generally admitted to have been the son and successor of Menes; under this name, however, no monument of him is known to us. According to Prof. Petrie,[1] we are to identify with Tetà the king whom he calls ZER, but whose name M. Amélineau rightly reads KHENT. It may,

[1] *Royal Tombs*, p. 5.

however, be suggested that the king whose Horus name was NĀR-MER  is to be identified with Tetà; whether this identification be correct or not, it is quite certain that he lived in the early part of the period of the rule of the Ist Dynasty, and the work on the objects bearing his name, though more archaic than that of Semti, is not so archaic as that of ĀḤA. All the known evidence points to the fact that he is a dynastic and not a predynastic king, and as on his monuments he wears the crown of the South and the crown of the North, he was certainly a successor and not a predecessor of Menes. The credit of finding the principal monuments of this king belongs to Mr. Quibell, who in the year 1898 excavated the site of the ancient temple of Hierakonpolis,[1] and discovered a number of important early dynastic monuments. Among these must be specially mentioned the great mace-head, the sculptures of which he has figured on Plate XXVIB. of his work. Here we see the king, in the character of Osiris, within a shrine which rests on a flight of steps, seated on a throne, wearing the crown of the North, and holding the flail in his hand. This flight of steps, which is also depicted upon a plaque of Semti, is evidently intended for the staircase of the tomb of Osiris, which is mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*.[2] By the side of the throne are two fan-bearers,

[1] See *Hierakonpolis*, Part I., London, 1900. Its modern name is Ḳôm al-Aḥmar.

[2] See page 15, and *Book of the Dead*, vol. i., p. xxxv.



Scene from the great ceremonial mace-head of Nār-mer. From Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. xxvi.B.

and behind are a personage called Thet , the royal sandal-bearer, and three attendants bearing staves; in front are men bearing standards, cattle, goats, etc. On another mace-head (see Plate XXVI c.) we see the king, wearing the crown of the South, holding a plough in his hand, and followed by fan-bearers; he is here described (?) by the signs  and , for which reason he has been called the "Scorpion King."[1] Of more importance, however, is the green slate object which is here illustrated;[2] it forms the finest example of a class which has been much discussed and described during recent years. The use of such objects, which are peculiar to the period of the Ist Dynasty, is unknown, but many suggestions have been made concerning it. Mr. F. Legge has published reproductions of all the known examples in London, Oxford, Paris, and Cairo,[3] and, after a very careful study, has come to the conclusion that in shape they may be a ceremonial survival of a special form of shield which was never used in actual warfare, and, like the "ancilia" of Rome, may have been preserved for ritual reasons. On the other hand, following Mr. Quibell, Professor Petrie maintains that they are highly ornamented ceremonial survivals of the slate *palettes* used in

[1] Judging by the character of the work on these mace-heads, Nār-mer and the Scorpion King are one and the same person.

[2] It was first described by its finder, Mr. Quibell, in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxvi. p. 81 ff.

[3] *Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxii. p. 125 ff.



Green slate object of unknown use bearing the name of king Nār-mer.
(Obverse.)



Green slate object of unknown use bearing the name of king Nār-mer.
(Reverse.)

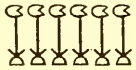
predynastic times on which to grind paint;[1] another view that might be put forward is that they were libation vase stands, which were to be carried shoulder high. But all such statements can only be regarded at present as guesswork, and it is perhaps safest to describe such objects, as Mr. H. R. Hall has done,[2] by the word "Reliefs." The object may be thus described:—

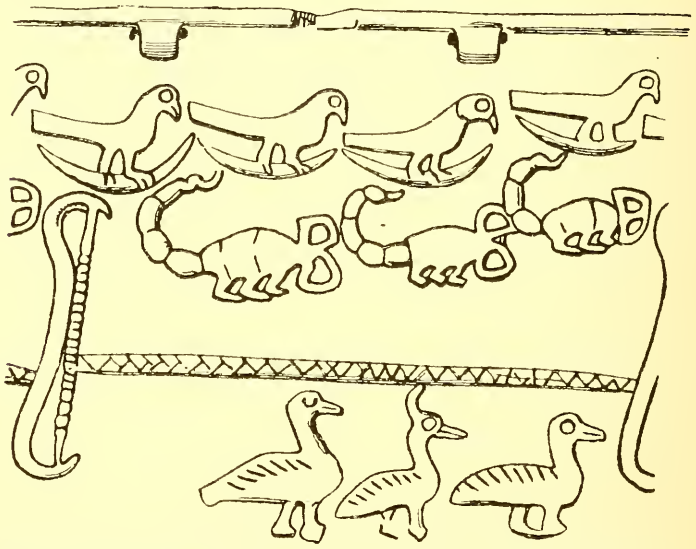
Obverse.—Two Hathor heads and the name NĀR-MER on the Horus standard. Below these we have the king, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, followed by the sandal-bearer, and preceded by the personage Thet,[3] already mentioned, and by four men bearing standards; in front of these are two rows of decapitated prisoners, and near them is a boat, and the signs  "great door." In the largest division are two lions with greatly elongated and intertwined necks being lassoed by two attendants. In the lowest register is a bull, symbolizing the king, which has broken into a fortified village, and having thrown down a foe is about to gore him. On the reverse, we have at the top the two Hathor heads and the king's name as before. Below this, wearing the crown of the South, is a standing figure of the king, who is about to smite with his uplifted mace an enemy whom he is grasping

[1] *Note on a Carved Slate*, *Proc. S. B. A.* vol. xxii., p. 140.

[2] *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 320.

[3] Thought by Naville (*Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xxi. p. 118), though apparently without reason, to be Nār-mer's wife.

by the hair; he is, as usual, accompanied by his sandal-bearer. Above the king's enemy is a scene which is not easy to explain. A hawk drags the head of a prisoner, of the same Asiatic type as that of the man whom the king is about to smite, by a rope attached to his nose; behind the head is a group of flowers, which has been read as , i.e., 6000, and the whole

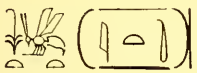
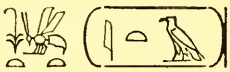


Design from a limestone vase of the "Scorpion King" (Nār-mer?).

scene has been interpreted to mean that the god Horus is bringing to the king 6000 prisoners. In the lowest register are represented two men in terrified flight. Yet another important object of the reign of Nār-mer is the limestone vase with figures of hawks, scorpions, a bow, etc., upon it in relief.[1]

[1] See Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, plate 19.

According to Manetho, Athothis, the son of Menâ, "reigned fifty-seven years; he built the palaces at "Memphis, and left the anatomical books, for he was a "physician." (Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 96.) This information seems to receive proof from a statement in the Ebers Papyrus that a pomatum, which was made from the claw of a dog, and the hoof of an ass, and some dates boiled together in oil in a saucepan, was made for Tetâ's mother, who was called Shesh .[1]

3.  Âteth, or  Âta, *Κενκένης*.

Âteth, or according to Manetho, Kenkenes, was the son of Tetâ, and he reigned thirty-one years. Under the name of Âteth no monuments of this king are known, but the result of recent excavations seems to prove that the king whose Horus name is Tcha  is to be identified with him. His tomb at Abydos was partly excavated by M. Amélineau, who gave it the name of the Tomb of the "Serpent King"; M. J. de Morgan printed a plan of it in his last volume,[2] and Prof. Petrie in 1900 continued the work which M. Amélineau had begun. It is described "as a large "chamber twenty feet wide and thirty feet long, with

[1] See Joachim, *Das aelteste Buch ueber Heilkunde*, Berlin, 1890, p. 106.

[2] See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, pp. 235 ff.

"smaller chambers around it at its level, the whole "bounded by a thick brick wall which rises seven and a "half feet to the roof, and then three and a half feet more "to the top of the retaining wall."[1] M. Amélineau found in the tomb a beautifully cut calcareous stone stele inscribed with the name TCHA surmounted by a hawk and two small ebony figures, the one representing a woman, and the other the head of a lion, of most exquisite workmanship.[2] Prof. Petrie found fragments of ivory and ebony tablets inscribed with the king's name, a portion of a relief in veined marble, and jar sealings with the king's Horus name followed by Âth , which may be his personal name.[3] It may be noted in passing that Kenkenes, the name which is given to the king by Manetho, must be a corruption of one of his names.

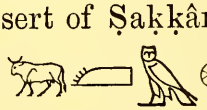
4.  ÂTA, *Οὐενέφης*.

ÂTA, the fourth king of the Ist Dynasty, is not known to us from the monuments under this name; recently, however, a theory has been put forward according to which he is to be identified with the king whose tomb at Abydos was excavated by Prof. Petrie,

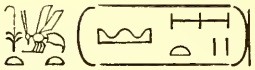
[1] See *Royal Tombs*, p. 8.

[2] "Morceaux ravissants de sculpture archaïque." (J. de Morgan.)

[3] See *Royal Tombs*, plates 13, 18, 19, etc.

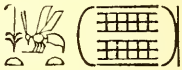
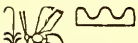
and who is known by his personal name of Mer-Nit, . The central chamber of the tomb is about twenty-one feet wide and thirty feet long, and around it are walls which vary in thickness from four feet to four feet four inches; it seems to have had a wooden floor, the remains of which show signs of having been burnt. The large stele which bears the name of Mer-Nit was found "lying near the east side of the central chamber."[1] The name Mer-Nit, i.e., "loved one of Neith," or "loving Neith," is of considerable interest, for it shows that the cult of this famous goddess held a position of great importance in Egypt in the early part of the period of the Ist Dynasty; it is, however, unfortunate that it occurs without any of the ordinary titles which were applied to Egyptian kings at that time. According to Manetho, "Uenephes reigned "twenty-three years. In his time a great plague raged "through Egypt. He raised the pyramids near Co-"chome." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96.) Cochome is the Greek transcription of the name of the great cemetery of Memphis which was situated in the desert of Ṣaḳḳâra, and was called by the Egyptians Ka-qam . It has often been declared that the famous Step Pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra was included among the buildings which Âta is said to have built, but it is now known that this pyramid was built by Tcheser, a king of the IIIrd Dynasty.

[1] *Royal Tombs*, p. 11.

5.  or  SEMTI.



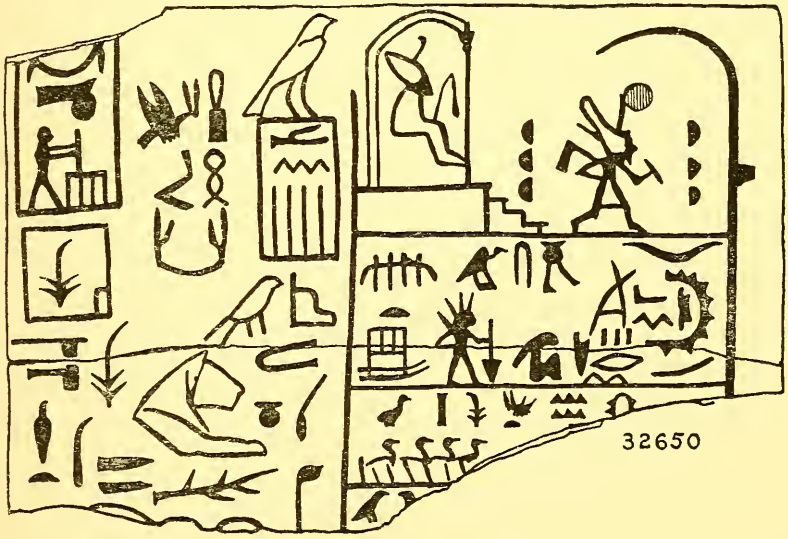
ṬEN, the Horus name of Semti.

SEMTI, the fifth king of the Ist Dynasty, has been long known under the name of Ḥesepti, which occurs in the Tablet of Abydos under the form ; and it is clear that the documents from which Manetho compiled his King List were drawn up by scribes who thought that this was the correct way of reading one of his names, for his transcription *Οὐσαφάϊς* was certainly based upon it. It has, however, now been satisfactorily shown that the signs  are incorrect transcriptions of the old cursive forms of , and that the true reading of the name is "Semti." On the ebony tablet, of which a drawing is here given,[1] we have the Horus name of a king ṬEN or DEN, and in another part of it occurs the title , "King of the South, and king of the North, Semti;" these facts indicate that ṬEN is the Horus name of Semti, and we may therefore consider ṬEN and Semti as one and the same person. The tomb of Semti was discovered by M. Amélineau,[2] who found that the massive walls of the large chamber in

[1] It was first published by Professor Petrie in *Royal Tombs*, plate 15.

[2] See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, p. 232.

it had been covered with wooden panels, and that the pavement consisted of large slabs of red granite; it was finally excavated by Prof. Petrie, who found in it, and in the rubbish which M. Amélineau's workmen had thrown out of it, a large number of important objects, fragments of ivory and ebony plaques, etc.[1] Ṭen, the Horus name of the king,



Ebony tablet of the royal treasurer Hemaka with a representation of king Ṭen dancing before Osiris.

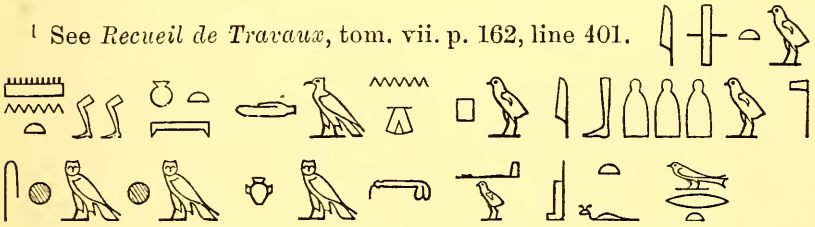
was also found impressed by means of cylinder seals upon the clay sealings of vases, and inscribed upon fragments of vases, etc. Of all the objects found in this tomb the most important seems to be the ebony tablet which has been already referred to, and which is now in the British Museum (No. 32,650). The

[1] *Royal Tombs*, p. 11.

inscriptions and scenes upon it are divided into two groups by means of a vertical line; on the left we have the Horus name Ṭen side by side with the name of the "royal chancellor" Ḥemaka , and a number of hieroglyphic signs, the meanings of which cannot, at present, be said to have been satisfactorily explained. To the extreme right is the sign for "year" , and in the uppermost register we see the figure of a god, who is, no doubt, Osiris, wearing the crown of the South, and holding a flail in his hands, seated upon a throne within a shrine which is set at the top of a staircase or flight of steps. Before the god is the figure of King Semti, who wears the crowns of the South and North united, and who is dancing; his back is towards the god, and in his left hand he holds the paddle , and in the right the flail . On each side of the king is the sign  inscribed thrice, and this sign, as Mr. H. R. Hall has pointed out,[1] is equivalent to , which is the determinative for the word for "dancing" (ȧb); in other words, King Semti is performing an act of worship before his god by dancing before him. It was no uncommon thing for kings to dance before their gods, and as examples of the kings who observed this custom we may mention Usertsen I., who danced before the god Ȧmsu or Min,

[1] In J. J. Tyler's *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab*, plate 1.

and Seti I., who danced before the goddess Nekhebet; and a still earlier allusion to the custom will be found in the text of Pepi I., where it is said, "He who (i.e., "Pepi) is between the thighs of Nut is the pygmy who "danceth for the god, and who maketh glad the heart "before his great throne."[1] We know that the early dynastic kings sometimes sent officials to the land of the pygmies to bring back examples of the little people that they might enjoy themselves by seeing them dance before them,[2] and in early times, at least, kings

[1] See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. vii. p. 162, line 401. 

[2] See the inscription of Ḥer-khuf at Aswân, edited and translated by Schiaparelli, *Atti del R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Rome, 1893, pp. 22–53; Erman in *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. 46, p. 574 ff.; and Erman, *Aegyp'ische Zeitschrift*, Bd. xxxi. p. 66. Ḥer-khuf quotes a letter which his king Pepi II. has sent to him, saying, "Thou hast said in this thy letter that thou hast brought a *ṭenk* (pygmy) living of the dances of the god from the land of the spirits, who is like unto the pygmy whom the divine chancellor Ba-ur-Ṭeṭ brought from Punt in the time of Åssâ." 

attempted to gain the favour of the gods whom they worshipped by dancing before them. To the left of the second register is what appears to be an early form of the Ḥennu boat, and it is difficult to see why this should occur on the tablet below the representation of a religious ceremony of dancing, if the king Semti was not in some way connected with the ceremonies in which we know the Ḥennu boat played a most prominent part. Under the name of Semti and Ḥesepti the king is mentioned in various passages of the *Book of the Dead*,[1] and in one place the occurrence of his name is of special significance. In the Rubric to the shorter version of the LXIVth Chapter we are told that the composition was "found in the foundations of "the shrine of Ḥennu by the chief mason during the "reign of Ḥesepti," and though we have no exact idea of what the word "found" here means, it is clear that in the reign of this king an important revision or discovery in connection with the literary history of the *Book of the Dead* took place. As parallel may perhaps be quoted the narrative of II. Kings, xxii. 8, where we are told that in the reign of the good king Josiah the high priest Hilkiah said unto Shaphan the Scribe, "I have found the book of the law in the "house of the Lord." We must note that the shorter version of the LXIVth Chapter is entitled "The Chapter of knowing the 'Chapters of Coming Forth by

[1] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, text, p. 145, and p. 285.

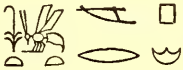
Day' in a single Chapter," and we are no doubt correct in assuming with Chabas that even at that early period the *Book of the Dead* was so lengthy a series of compositions, that a short chapter, which should comprise all the essential parts of the whole work, was felt to be a want. To meet this want the LXIVth Chapter in its shortened form was drawn up by the priests, probably under the royal command and supervision; in any case there must have been some good reason for mentioning Ḥesepti's name in connection with the chapter in the Rubric, and we may assume that certain important religious ceremonies were either first established or confirmed during his reign.[1] Now, the Egyptians ascribed not only certain portions of the *Book of the Dead* to the reign of Ḥesepti, but also books of Medicine. Thus in the Ebers Papyrus[2] the copy of a prescription for driving out the *ukhedu* disease from the limbs of a man is given according "to "a book which was found under the feet of the god "Anubis in the city of Letopolis, and was brought to "the king of the South and North Ḥesepti." And in a medical papyrus at Berlin[3] further information is added to the effect that after Ḥesepti was dead the book was taken to his Majesty Senṭ; now Senṭ was the

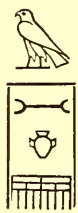
[1] See also the Rubric to Chapter CXXX. in the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*.

[2] See Joachim, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

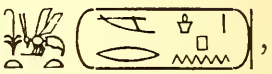
[3] See Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, ii. plates 85–107; Brugsch, *Notice raisonnée d'un traité médical*, Leipzig, 1863; and Chabas, *Mélanges*, Sér. I., Paris, 1862, p. 55 ff.

fifth king of the IInd Dynasty and reigned many years after Semti, and we must therefore understand that Senṭ came into the possession of a medical work which had once belonged to his great predecessor Semti. According to Manetho, Usaphais (Ḥesepti) was the son of Uenephes, and he reigned twenty years. (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96.)

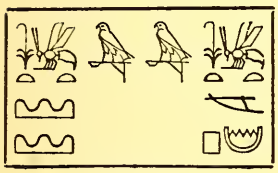
6.  MER-PEBA, *Μιεβις*.

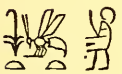


ĀTCHÀB, the Horus name of Mer-peba.

MERPEBA or MERBAPEN , the sixth king of the Ist Dynasty, seems to have occupied an important place in the historical traditions known to the scribes of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, for the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra begins with his name. His Horus name is ĀTCHÀB, and side by side with it he styles himself on his jar-sealings, "king of the South, king of the North." The tomb of this king at Abydos seems to have been partly excavated by M. Amélineau, but it was finally cleared out by Professor Petrie, who discovered numbers of fragments of vases, jar-sealings, plaques of ivory for inlaying, etc., inscribed with his Horus and personal names. The tomb is a plain chamber, with rather sloping sides, about twenty-two feet long and fourteen feet wide; the surrounding wall is nearly five feet thick; the entrance to the tomb was by a stairway descending

from the east. The chamber was floored with planks of wood, and the roof was supported by wooden posts.[1] According to Manetho, Merpeba, or Miebis, reigned twenty-six years (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96). The fact that Merpeba succeeded Semti or Ḥesepti was proved by Prof. Sethe from the inscription on which his name is made to follow that of the latter king in the manner here indicated,[2] as well as by other considerations which are duly set forth in his article entitled *Die älteste geschichtlichen Denkmäler der Aegypter.*



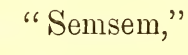
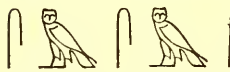
7.  Ḥu or Nekht. Semsu, Σεμεμψής.

In the Tablet of Abydos the royal name which follows that of Merpeba is represented by a divine, bearded figure, who wears a garment which reaches down to his ankles, and holds in his hands the sceptre ; now the Greek transcription of this sign attributed to Manetho is Σεμεμψής, and there is no reason to doubt that it represents nearly its reading by the Egyptian priests of his day. The modern reading of



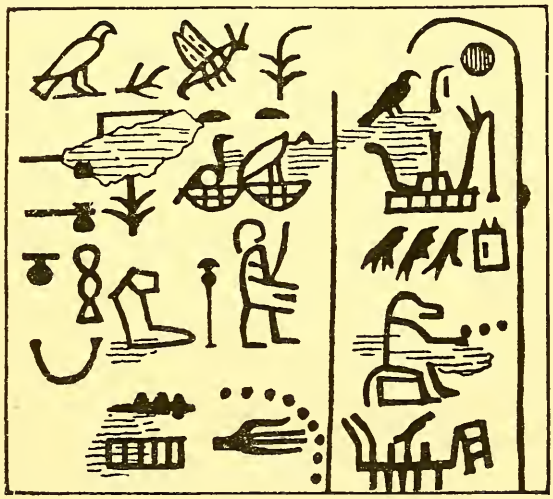
[1] See *Royal Tombs*, pp. 12, 17, 19, 20, 38, 39, etc.

[2] See *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 35, p. 2, and *Royal Tombs*, plate 5.

the sign proposed by Lieblein is "Sem-en-Ptaḥ," i.e., "Sem priest of Ptaḥ," which is based upon the view that the figure in the cartouche at the head of this paragraph has some connection with the god Ptaḥ. But this can hardly be correct, and we have reason for assuming that the priests who drew up the King List for Seti I. were puzzled by the sign, which they found in the documents from which they compiled the List, and that they caused the mason to cut on the wall the hieroglyphic which they thought represented the ancient sign. It is possible that they connected it with the word "Semsu" or "Semsem," , or , a word meaning chief, eldest, first-born, and the like, from which Manetho's "Sem-empses" could easily be derived, and the sign given in the King List will bear this reading very well. The view of Mr. H. R. Hall[1] is that the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty understood the sign in the old documents as being equivalent to , the reading of which is "Shemsu," and that this word is the base of the form "Semempses" given by Manetho; in any case, Manetho's form rests on a misreading of a sign, and that sign must represent the Horus name of the king who succeeded Merpeba. But

[1] See *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 75; the resemblance of the archaic form of  to  was pointed out by Mr. F. L. Griffith (*Royal Tombs*, p. 12).

what was that sign? According to Mr. Hall, the sign which the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty read "Shemsu" was nothing more nor less than an archaic form of the hieroglyphic , which may be read either "Ḥu" or "Nekht," a view which was based upon an examination of the inscribed ivory tablet, the text of which is here reproduced.[1] To the right is the sign for



Ivory plaque inscribed with the names and titles of Ḥu or Nekht (Semsu ?).

year, , and close by are figures of the Sektet and Āṭet boats, which call to mind the forms of them as given in the Pyramid Text of Unâs;[2] between them is an ape of Thoth, and the legend . To the left of the vertical line we have the names and titles of a

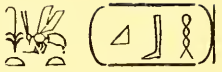
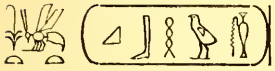
[1] First published in *Royal Tombs*, plate 12.

[2] *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. iii. p. 219, lines 292, 293.

king, , followed by the sign , which is evidently an archaic form of , i.e., "Ḥu" or "Nekht," that is to say, the king's name, which was, by the scribes of the XIXth and later Dynasties, read , i.e., "Semsu" or "Semsem." From the jar-sealings, etc., we learn that the Horus name of king Ḥu or Nekht was SEMERKHA, .

The tomb of Ḥu, or Semerkha, at Abydos, is, according to Prof. Petrie, about forty-four feet long and twenty-five feet wide, and is surrounded by a wall over five feet thick;[1] it was floored with planks of wood, which M. Amélineau found to be charred, and he thought that the whole tomb had been burnt. Among the stelae found in this tomb were two of dwarfs, and the bones of dwarfs were found in two chambers; the copper bowl which was found in another chamber is the only large piece of metal-work that has been preserved. Prof. Petrie notes that the space near the entrance to the tomb was filled to the depth of three feet with sand saturated with ointment, and that the scent of it was so strong that when cutting away the sand it could be smelt over the whole tomb. According to Manetho, Merpeba's son "Semempses reigned eighteen years. "In his reign a terrible pestilence afflicted Egypt." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96.)

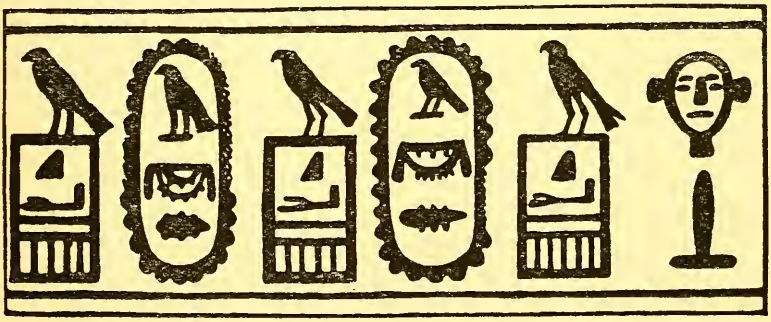
[1] *Royal Tombs*, plate 13.

8.  SEN, *i.e.*, , or  QEBḤ, or QEBḤU, *Βιηνεχῆς*.



QĪ, the Horus name of Qebḥ.

Under the name of QEBḤ, the last king of the Ist Dynasty, no monuments are known, but recent excavations have resulted in the discovery of a considerable number of objects which are inscribed with the Horus and personal names of a king who must be identified with him. M. Amélineau, in the course of his work at Abydos, excavated a tomb in which he found a stele inscribed with the name QĀ,



Jar sealing of King QĪ-Sen (Qebḥ).

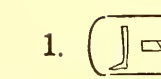
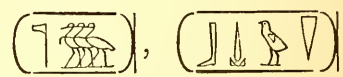
i.e., the Horus name of a king at that time unknown; later, in or near the tomb Prof. Petrie found an ivory tablet[2] inscribed with the same Horus name, but side

[1] See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, 1897, p. 231.

[2] *Royal Tombs*, plate 12, No. 2.

by side with it were the signs , which are to be translated "King of the South, king of the North, SEN." Thus we learn that SEN was the personal name of the king whose Horus name was QĀ. In the second cartouche given at the top of this paragraph it will be noticed that the sign , which is read "Qebḥ," occurs, and as we know that king QĀ succeeded ḤU, or Semempses, on the throne of Egypt, it is pretty clear that Sen and Qebḥ are one and the same king.[1] It seems as if the scribes of the XIXth Dynasty who drew up the King List for Seti I. were as much puzzled by the archaic or cursive sign which they read Qebḥ as they were by the sign which they probably read Semsem or Shemsu, and that, having no exact knowledge of the history of the old period to guide them, they wrongly transcribed the archaic sign for  by . According to Manetho, Bieneches, the son of Semempses, reigned twenty-six years. (See Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 96.)

SECOND DYNASTY. FROM THIS.

1.  BESH, *i.e.*, ,  NETER-BAIU (Ṣaḳḳâra), BETCHAU (Abydos), *Βοηθός*.

NETER-BAIU, the first king of the IInd Dynasty, was buried at Abydos, and his tomb was excavated in

[1] *Royal Tombs*, p. 23.

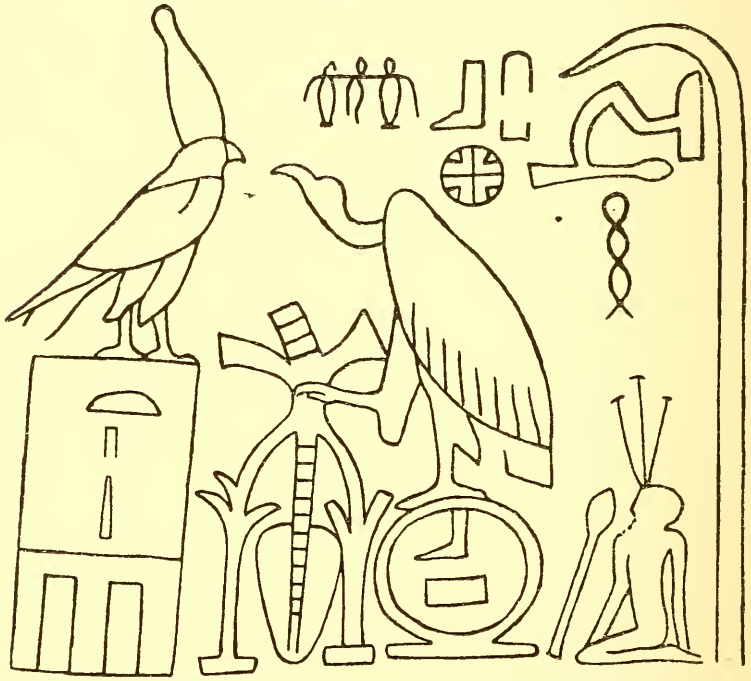
1896-97 by M. Amélineau,[1] who found it to be a building about two hundred and sixty feet long, and to contain at least fifty-seven chambers; the tomb had neither been burnt nor plundered, and therefore many objects of great archaeological value were found in it. The earthenware vases in it contained wheat, figs, dried grapes, etc.; they were not closed by means of conical stoppers, but by pieces of clay of irregular shapes which were laid over their mouths and impressed with cylinder seals bearing the king's name upon them. From the impressions upon them[2] we see that the name in the first cartouche at the head of this paragraph is the equivalent of the signs , which are enclosed within a plain oval ; beneath them are the signs . On each side of this oval we have the Horus (and Set?) name of the king given in the form here represented, and it is clear, in spite of what was first said on the subject, that this name is to be read KHĀ SEKHEMUI.[3] In fuller forms of the name we see added , and the hieroglyphics . We have now recovered the Horus name of the first king of the IInd Dynasty, and also the name which he adopted as king of the South and North, but neither of them in any way represents the name

[1] *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1897, pp. 44, 45.

[2] See J. de Morgan, *Recherches*, p. 243.

[3] See *Revue Critique*, December 13, 1897, p. 437 ff.

"Betchau" which is given in the second cartouche, or the Greek form of the name supplied by Manetho. Thanks, however, to the very successful excavations made at Hierakonpolis by Mr. Quibell, it is now possible to give the ancient form of the name Betchau. In the course of his excavations on the site of the old



Design on a granite vase of King Besh, showing the earliest use of the symbol of the union of the two countries of Egypt, etc.

temple at Ḳôm-al-Akhmar Mr. Quibell found a considerable number of objects, vases, pottery, flints, etc., and among them were some fine stone vases which were inscribed with the name and titles of the king. In the accompanying drawing [1] we see on the right the usual

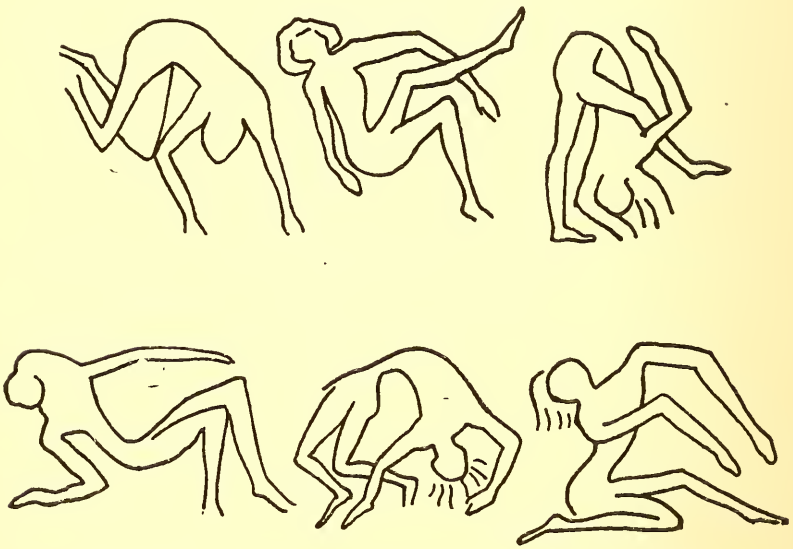
[1] First published in *Hierakonpolis*, plate 37.

emblem for "year" , which, taken together with the three signs to the left of it, has been thought to mean, "year of the fighting with the northerners." Next we see the vulture goddess, the dweller in Nekheb, with one claw resting upon the sign , and the other upon the stalks of the two plants, the lotus and papyrus, where they are tied together and represent the union of the two countries, South and North. The scene of tying together the stems of the two plants is represented in later times by the sign , and that this is what is here depicted there is no doubt. Inside the sign , *Shen*, which represents a seal, and in later times typifies the sun's path, or orbit, are the signs "Besh" , which can be nothing else than the king's personal name, i.e., Betchau; to the left is his Horus name KHĀ-SEKHEM, which becomes KHĀ-SEKHEMUI when figures of Horus and Set appear above the standard. Thus we see that in very early times the king had certainly three names, viz., Neter-baiu, Khā-sekhemui, and Besh.

Among the objects found at Kôm-al-Akhmar worthy of special note are the granite door jamb, which is inscribed with the Horus name,[1] and the limestone and slate seated statues of the king; these are, of course, the earliest statues known. Upon the bases of both statues, in front of the feet, is the Horus name, and around them we see a line of "slain enemies in various distorted

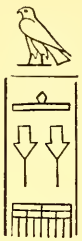
[1] See *Hierakonpolis*, plate 2.

"attitudes, and on the front is the register of 'northern "'enemies 47,209.'" The features and general treatment of the statues by the sculptor shows that his art had, at that early period, arrived at a very high state of perfection. As far as we now know, Neter-baiu, or Besh, was the first king who caused his name to be enclosed

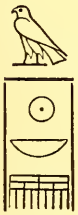
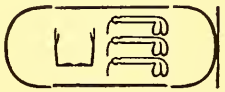


Figures of slain enemies on the pedestal of the slate statue of King Besh (Khā-sekhem). From Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, plate xl.

either in an oval or in a ring, and it is easy to see that the oval grew out of the ring, when the names became too long to be enclosed in it. According to Manetho, "Boethos reigned thirty-eight years. During his reign "a chasm of the earth opened near Bubastus, and many "persons perished." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

2.  Ḥetep-Sekhemui.

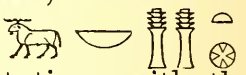
The existence of this king is made known to us by statue No. 1 at Cairo, and his Horus name, which is given above, has been found upon fragments of stone bowls,[1] etc., discovered at Abydos. His name has been read Ḥetep-āḥāui , but this is an impossible form which has no meaning. His name as king of the South and North is, as yet, unknown to us.

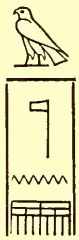
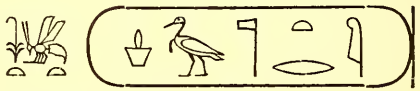
3.  Rā-neb.   Ka-kau,

Καιέχως.

The Horus name of this king, Rā-neb, is made known to us by the statue No. 1 in the Cairo Museum, and his name as king of the South and North by the Tablets of Abydos and Ṣaḳḳâra. According to Manetho, Kaiechos "reigned thirty-nine years, and "under him the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in "Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat, were appointed to "be gods" (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98). Wiedemann has

[1] See *Royal Tombs*, Part ii., plate 8, p. 26.

already referred[1] to the statement of Aelian[2] that the worship of Apis was established by Menâ, or Menes, but it seems pretty certain from Manetho that some development of the worship of Apis, and perhaps of Mnevis also, must have taken place during the reign of Ka-kau. The Mendesian goat, or ram, is of course the Ram of Mendes, Ba-neb-Ṭaṭṭu, , which was connected in very ancient times with the worship of Osiris.

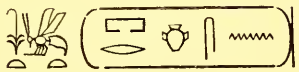
4.  ENNETER.  or  BA-EN-NETER, *Βίνωθρις*.

The Horus name of this king is made known to us by the statue No. 1 in the Cairo Museum, and his name as king of the South and North by the Tablets of Abydos and Ṣaḳḳâra. The position of this king as the successor of Ka-kau is indicated by the statue at Cairo, and is confirmed by the fact that En-neter inscribed his name over that of Rā-neb (Ka-kau) on a stone bowl found at Abydos, a fragment of which is now in the British Museum (No. 35,556). According to Manetho, "Binothris reigned forty-seven years, and "in his time it was determined that women might hold "the imperial government." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

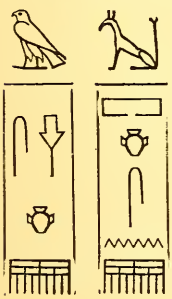
[1] *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 164. [2] *Hist. Animalium*, x. 11.

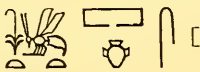
5.  or  UATCHNES, *Τλάς*.

Of this king, whose name is supplied by the Tablets of Abydos and Ṣaḳḳâra, nothing is known except that, according to Manetho, "he reigned seventeen years." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

6.  PER-ÀB-SEN.

The tomb of PER-ÀB-SEN was discovered at Abydos by M. Amélineau,[1] and it is tolerably certain that the king for whom it was made is to be identified with the PER-ÀB-SEN whose name is given by the priest Sheri on the door of his tomb. The recently discovered inscriptions show that his Horus name was SEKHEM-ÀB, and that PER-ÀB-SEN, the name by which he is generally known, is his Set name. They occur side by side, thus:—



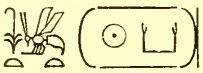
This king is commonly known by his Set name, and it seems as if in later times the Set name of a king was made into his prenomen. A massive sepulchral stele bearing his Set name is in the British Museum. Jar-sealings bearing the legend  are also known.[2]

[1] See *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, p. 125; *Nouvelles Fouilles*, 1897-98.

[2] *Royal Tombs*, plate 29.

7.  or  SENṬÀ or SENṬ, Σεθένης.

This king's name is found on the Tablets of Abydos and Ṣaḳḳâra, and also on contemporaneous monuments. The priest Sheri  mentions the name both of king Senṭ and of his successor on the door of his tomb,[1] and slabs from it now preserved at Oxford[2] and in the British Museum[3] also record his name.[4] Senṭ is also said in the Berlin Medical Papyrus[5] to have revised a certain medical papyrus, which had been found first of all under the feet of a statue of the god Anubis in the city of Sekhem (Letopolis) during the reign of Semti, or Ḥesepti. According to Manetho, "Sethenes reigned "forty-one years." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

8.  KA-RĀ, Χαίρης.

The name of the king is furnished by a green steatite cylinder.[6] According to Manetho, "Chaires "reigned seventeen years." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

[1] See Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 31, 32.

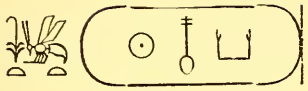
[2] Lepsius, *Auswahl*, plate 9.

[3] See No. 1192.

[4] Other contemporaneous monuments are mentioned by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[5] See Brugsch, *Recueil*, tom. ii. plate 99 (page 15, line 2) Leipzig, 1863.

[6] See *El-Kab*, Plate xx., No. 29.

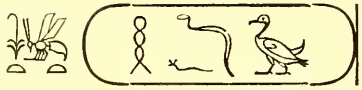
9.  NEFER-KA-RĀ, *Νεφερχέρης*.

The name of this king is supplied by the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra, and that he is identical with the Nephercherês of Manetho there can be little doubt; but, under this name at least, no monuments of him are known, and no details of the reign are forthcoming. According to Manetho, he reigned "twenty-five years. In his time "it is said the Nile flowed with honey during eleven "days."[1] (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.)

10.  NEFER-KA-SEKER, *Σεσωχρίς*.

The name of this king is supplied by the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra, and as the latter part of the Greek name, *σωχρις*, is clearly the equivalent of Seker , we may assume that the king Nefer-ka-Seker is to be identified with the Sesochris of Manetho's List. According to Manetho, Sesochris reigned "forty-eight years. His "height was five cubits, and his breadth three cubits." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 98.) The better, and probably correct, reading of the latter statement is given by the Armenian version of Eusebius, where it is said that the king's height was "five cubits and three hand breadths."

[1] "Nilum fluvium diebus xi. melle aqua permixto fluxisse aiunt." (Eusebius.)

11.  Ḥetchefa.

Traces of this king's name are found on the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra, and the full name is given by Brugsch and Bouriant from the Royal Papyrus at Turin, but whether Ḥetchefa is to be identified with the Χενερης of Manetho cannot at present be said.

12.  Tchatchai, or  Bebi.

For this king, whether we read his name Tchatchai, according to the Tablet of Abydos, or Bebi, according to the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra, the King List of Manetho has no equivalent whatsoever in this place; no contemporaneous monument is known.

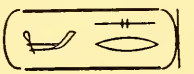
THIRD DYNASTY. FROM MEMPHIS.

1.  Neb-ka =  Neb-ka-Rā.

The name of the first king of the IIIrd Dynasty, according to Manetho, is Νεχερωφής, and we are probably right in assuming that this king is to be identified with the Neb-ka of the Tablet of Abydos,

i.e., NEB-KA-RĀ. According to Manetho, the dynasty which was begun by Necherophes consisted of nine kings; Necherophes "reigned twenty-eight years. In "his time the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but "on account of an unexpected increase of the moon they "submitted through fear." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 100.)

2.  TCHESER, or  TCHESER-SA, *Τοσορθρος*.

The first form of this king's name is given by the Tablet of Abydos, and the second by the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra; what is, apparently, his Horus name is given by the now famous Stele of the Famine,[1] which was discovered on the Island of Sahal by the late Mr. Wilbour in 1889, and by the objects which were found in the tomb of the king, discovered in 1901, at Bêt-Khallâf بيت خلاف, in the province of Girga in Upper Egypt. In the Famine Stele following  we have the signs , which are to be read NETER KHA, and after the next title, "golden Horus," comes the cartouche  TCHESER; the Horus name of the king is also found on the portion of his tomb now preserved in the Royal Museum at Berlin, and also in the inscriptions on the rocks at Wâdî Maghâra, which have been

[1] See Brugsch, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth* (text), p. 1, Leipzig, 1891. The Island of سحل or ساحل is in the First Cataract.

copied by M. Bénédite.[1] Of Tcheser Manetho says, "Tosorthrus reigned twenty-nine years. He is called "Asclepius by the Egyptians, for his medical know- "ledge. He built a house of hewn stones, and "greatly patronized literature." (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 100.) The inscriptions tell us nothing about Tcheser's



The Step Pyramid at Ṣaḳḳâra.

skill as a physician or as a lover of literature, but Manetho's statement that "he built a house of "hewn stones" received remarkable confirmation from the excavations which were carried out by the Prussian General Minutoli, in 1819,[2] in the "Step Pyramid" at Ṣaḳḳâra. This pyramid was built by Tcheser to

[1] See *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. xvi. p. 104.

[2] *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, p. 296 ff.

serve as his tomb, and it is certainly the oldest of all the large buildings which have successfully resisted the action of wind and weather, and destruction by the hand of man. The steps of the pyramid are six in number, and are about 38, 36, 34½, 32, 31, and 29½ feet in height; the width of each step is from six to seven feet. The lengths of the sides at the base are: north and south, 352 feet; east and west, 396 feet; and the actual height is about 197 feet. In shape this pyramid is oblong, and its sides do not exactly face the cardinal points. The arrangement of the chambers inside the pyramid is quite peculiar to itself, and the remains of the walls, doors, etc., of some of the chambers prove that they must have formed fine examples of the art and skill of the decorator of funeral buildings. As Mr. Garstang has discovered at Khallâf a tomb[1] which must be that of the king, it seems that his body can never have been buried in this pyramid. Tcheser must have been an able and a mighty king, and from the fact that the Royal Papyrus of Turin, as both Wiedemann[2] and Krall[3] have noticed, begins a new paragraph with his name, it seems as if his reign

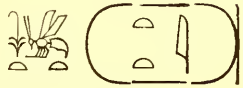
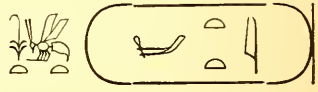
[1] In this tomb were found bowls and dishes of diorite, alabaster, porphyry, etc., copper implements, worked flints, alabaster tables for offerings, etc. The tomb contains a staircase which, passing under an archway, leads down to eighteen underground chambers, at a depth of 90 feet from the top of the mastaba. Garstang, *Catalogue*, p. 7. Mr. Garstang also discovered the tomb of another king of the IIIrd Dynasty called Hen-Nekht.

[2] *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 172.

Grundriss der altorientalischen Geschichte, p. 18.

inaugurated a new era; in any case, he was esteemed worthy of divine honours in the XIIth Dynasty. Tcheser is mentioned in the Westcar Papyrus with other kings, e.g., Khufu (Cheops), Nebka, Seneferu,[1] etc.

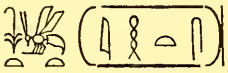
In Manetho's King List Tosorthrus is followed by the names (3) Tyreis, (4) Mesochris, and (5) Soyphis, who are said to have reigned seven, seventeen, and sixteen years respectively, but of these kings no details whatsoever are narrated, and up to the present the monuments have supplied no information in respect of them. In the Tablet of Abydos the king who is made to follow Tcheser-sa is Tetà, and in the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra we find Tcheser-Tetà, which name seems to be a fuller form of the Tetà of the Tablet of Abydos.

3.  Tetà, or  Tcheser-Tetà.

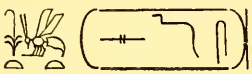
In the form of the name given in the second cartouche we have, no doubt, the base of the Greek transcription of the name of the king whom Manetho calls *Τοσέρτασις*, and of whom we know nothing, except that he is said to have reigned nineteen years. (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 100.) It is interesting to note that Eusebius, in the Armenian version, says that the six (not *seven*) other kings who followed Tosorthrus did

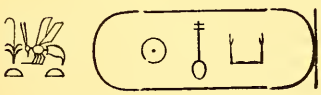
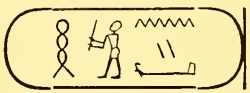
[1] Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, plates i. iii. iv.

nothing worthy of mention, and it is quite conceivable that when chronographers found nothing to say about kings they quietly omitted their names from the King Lists which they were compiling. Following the name of Tosertasis in Manetho's List comes that of Aches, who is said to have reigned forty-two years, and it is possible that he is to be identified with the king whose name is given from the Palermo Stele by Brugsch and Bouriant in their *Livre des Rois* (p. 3) under the form of

4.  ḤTES, Ἄχης.

The name of the next king which occurs in the Tablet of Abydos is Setches, and it is probable that the king who reigned thirty years, and is called Sephouris by Manetho, is to be identified with him.

5.  SETCHES, Σήφουρις.

6. , 

NEFER-KA-RĀ, ḤUNI.

The name which follows Setches in the Tablet of Abydos, and which precedes Seneferu, is NEFER-KA-RĀ, which is, clearly, the basis of the name of the king who reigned twenty-six years, and who is called by Manetho Κερφέρης; in the Tablet of Ṣaḳḳâra, however, the

name which precedes Seneferu is Ḥuni. Now in the Prisse Papyrus (pl. 2, ll. 7, 8) the two names are mentioned, and it is also said there that Ḥuni died, and that Seneferu became the ruler of all the land; we may therefore assume that Ḥuni and Nefer-ka-Rā are one and the same person, and it is in any case clear from Manetho's King List that Seneferu was the first king of a new dynasty. The total of the years of the reigns of the kings of the IIIrd Dynasty is, according to Manetho, 214 years.

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